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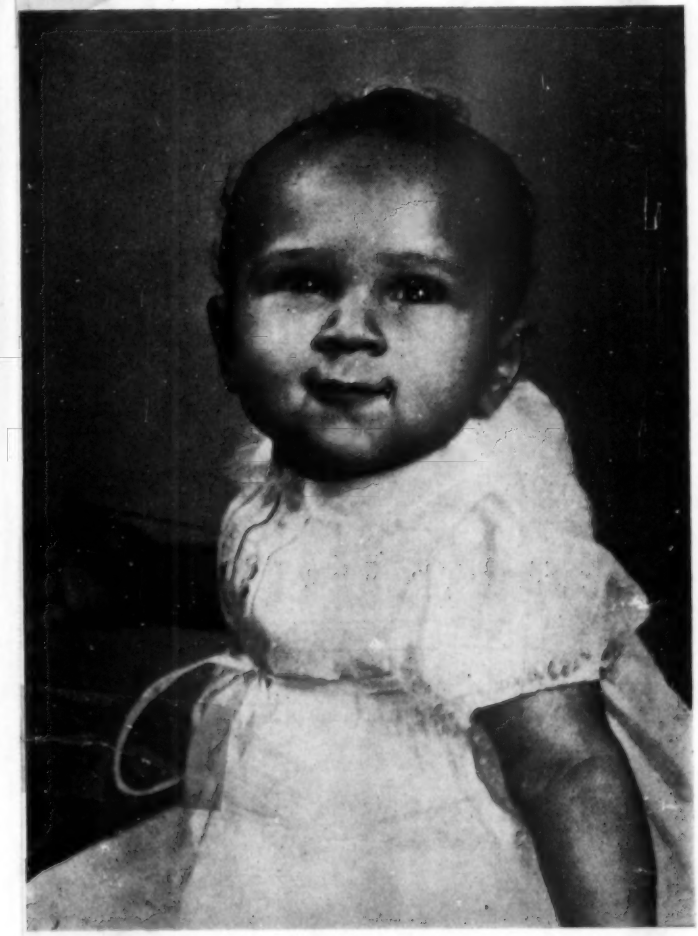

GRANDDAUGHTER OF THE N.A.A.C.P.

(Shirley Turner looks into her first New Year—See page 6)

VICTORY IN MISSOURI

Full Text of the Supreme Court Opinion

▼

TICKET HOME

A Story by OCTAVIA B. WYNBUSH

CAN THE STATES STOP LYNCHING?

A review of the 1938 Record

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COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS

O. C. Cox is director of **Wiley College's** new Research Division of the Economics Department. It is conducting classes in household management, cooking, sewing, laundering and cleaning through its Extension Department, supervised by Mrs. Precious J. Horton, for the benefit of those entering domestic service.

Virginia Union University's students in the Rural Sociology course recently surveyed Sharpsneck, a community 65 miles from Richmond. Dr. J. M. Ellison directed the study.

Upper class students at **Bennett College** successful in maintaining "B" average or above in all courses will be allowed privilege of unlimited cuts from classes in which they are enrolled.

New to the **St. Philip's Junior College** faculty are Katherine Jackson (art), C. Moorman Brown (French and Spanish), Albert T. James (Dean), Alphonso P. Johnson (science), Miss Lillie K. Daly (librarian), Miss Myrtle Napier (home economics), Mrs. Jimmie Lee Shaw (music), Miss Hattie Davis (house decorator).

Instructor William H. Moses, Jr. (architectural drawing and design) **Hampton Institute** has won first prize of $350 from the Virginia Art Commission for his design for the State's exhibit at the New York World's Fair. His design was submitted anonymously but in open competition. He is colored.

Virginia State College was host, November 23-25 to the 51st Annual Convention of the Teachers Association of the Old Dominion. The theme was the economic condition of the Negro. Speakers were T. Arnold Hill, National Urban League, and Att'y Thurgood Marshall, Assistant Special Counsel for the N.A.A.C.P.

Dr. H. D. West, associate professor of chemistry at **Meharry Medical College** has been awarded a grant in aid from the committee on Scientific Research, American Medical Association for further studies on the synthesis of d-e-threonine, one of the amino acids, necessary for proper growth, recently discovered at the University of Illinois.

New to **Shaw University's** board of trustees is Mrs. Howard S. Palmer, New Haven, Conn., wife of the presi-

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dent of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad.

Services commemorating Shaw's seventy-third anniversary were held on Nov. 18. The address was delivered by Dr. Frank S. Hargrave, member of the New Jersey General Assembly.

Estey Hall has been completely renovated and modernized.

West Virginia State College was host to a conference of Negro Extension Agents on Friday and Saturday, Dec. 2 and 3. A conference of instructors in Vocational Guidance in W. Va. schools was held Nov. 12.

Students of **Atlanta University's** Laboratory School who won awards given by the Tuberculosis Association in the 1938 National Essay Contest were Eleanor Bell and Edith Henry. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois (sociology) addressed Emory University students-faculty recently.

Dillard University has started construction of a practice house in homemaking and a two-family faculty residence made possible by a General Education Board grant.

Announcement is made of publication of syllabi by Dr. Charles Wesley Buggs (Biology) and Dr. Clarence T. Mason (asso. Chemistry). Dr. Allison Davis (Social Anthropology) is on leave of absence for the second semester preparing in book form results of his study of Negro adolescents conducted under auspices of the American Youth Commission. He will be resident in the Institute of Human Relations of Yale Univ.

Dean Aaron Brown, **Ft. Valley Nor. and Ind. School,** reports enrollment has passed the 1,200 mark, with 50 members on the staff.

President J. B. Watson, **Arkansas State College,** was recently tendered a testimonial dinner by the faculty in recognition of his ten years of outstanding service as head of the institution, during which period the enrollment has jumped from 36 to 436 in the college and the plant has been enlarged from 9 to 20 buildings. He recently donated 100 acres of land for an all-state park for Negroes. In addition to his admin-

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istrative work, he is manager of a 13,000 acre farm near the college.

Dean W. K. Payne has resigned from **Dunbar Junior College** (Little Rock, Ark.) and now heads the Dep't of Education at Georgia State College. Succeeding him is Dean H. L. Johnson, Chicago University alumnus.

The gymnasium at **Knoxville College** has been dedicated to the memory of the late Dr. J. Kelly Griffen, former president.

William A. Colwell and George A. Moore have been appointed members of the **Ohio State University** debating team. They are both seniors.

Assistant Professor of Pathology, Dr. Porter B. Lennox, School of Medicine, **Howard University,** died November 9. He served Howard for 20 years.

President Millard F. Whittaker, **South Carolina State A. & M. College,** is asking the State for $321,000 to cover maintenance and permanent improvements for the year 1939-40.

J. C. Napier Named on Housing Authority

J. C. Napier, banker and nationally known civic leader, has been appointed to membership on the newly organized Nashville, Tenn., Housing Authority, Administrator Nathan Straus of the United States Housing Authority was informed last week. Mr. Napier was one of five members appointed by Mayor Thomas L. Cummings.

Mr. Napier brings to a total of 16 the number of Negroes now serving on local housing authorities, of which three are in southern cities and others located in the East and Middle West.

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NEXT MONTH

The annual review of books by Negro authors, published during 1938, will be a feature of the February issue. Arthur B. Spingarn is the reviewer.

There will be, also, the promised poem by Sterling Brown, "Remembering Nat Turner."

Elizabeth Thomas contributes a short story, "Our House;" and there will be an article on tuberculosis by Dr. W. Roderick Brown.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Octavia B. Wynbush has written a number of stories for THE CRISIS. She teaches in Lincoln high school, Kansas City, Mo.

Rudolph Dunbar is in America for a short visit. He lives in London where he is the correspondent for the Associated Negro Press.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson is head of the department of social sciences at Fisk university, Nashville, Tenn. He is generally regarded as the leading Negro sociologist in the country.

Mercer Cook is a member of the faculty at Atlanta university, teaching French. He returned last fall from a year's study in France.

THE COVER

Little Miss Shirley Juanita Turner is seven months old. She is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Frank M. Turner, Jr., of Jamaica, N. Y., and the granddaughter of Frank M. Turner, Sr. Her grandfather has been chief accountant in the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. for 26 years.

Ticket Home

By Octavia B. Wynbush

A Christmas story

"THERE, I reckon that'll do." With a last pat of her gray-streaked hair showing beneath the dilapidated felt hat whose draggled feather still made a gallant fight to stand erect, the woman turned from the cracked mirror above the scarred wash-stand perched crazily on its three good legs in the corner by the one window of the small, dark, musty room she called home.

Home! The very thought called up a vision of what she would soon see. No more of this smelly, stuffy hole for her—at least for a few days, maybe forever, if things broke for her this time.

The word "if" drew her thin, pasty-colored lips into a grim, sardonic smile. That little word was such a mighty one. All her life had been conditioned by it.

If, at the death of both her parents, she had not been reared by an older sister whose tender heart forbade her chastising "the poor little orphan," she would not have grown into a wilful, headstrong girl. If she had not been so wilful, she would not have married Andrew against her sister's wishes. If Andrew had not been the cruelest, meanest man on God's earth, she would be with him now, and with their baby—only the baby wouldn't be a baby any more, for by now she must be—. The woman ticked the years off on her fingers, Fourteen, fifteen, sixteen. Yes, the girl was now sixteen.

"I hope to God she isn't headstrong like me. Hope she doesn't spoil her life like I did mine at her age."

Well, spilt milk can never be collected. The grim mouth softened slightly, as the woman walked to the window, streaked and grimy with successive layers of soot, dried rain drops, and melted snow crystals. She looked down into the street below.

For a while, any way, the clattering Vine street cars, the dashing taxis, the unkempt men and women drifting in and out of the Piccolo Club, the dirt and trash in Eighteenth Street, would be something she used to know in Kansas City.

Turning from the window, she leaned over the low foot of the once-white iron bedstead, and picked up the old black pocketbook resting on the torn spread. She viewed the pocketbook with pride. Bought for five cents at the rummage sale, it showed class, just the same. It had been a mighty nifty bag in its day. Folks would think she had owned it a long time.

Once more she opened the bag; once more she removed a newspaper clipping so worn that the print was scarcely legible. Not that she needed to read it, for she knew the contents by heart. After carrying one clipping for six months and a few days, one should know its message. Mechanically she read it.

"PROMINENT CITIZEN FOUND DEAD

LAOTA, LOUISIANA, June 16.—Louis Tourquee, one of Laota's oldest and most prominent citizens was found dead in his home yesterday, the victim of a heart attack.

At one time Mr. Torquee was rated among the wealthiest Negroes of this section of the state, but suffered severe financial losses in 1929.

He is survived by one niece, Mrs. Nanette Waller, of New York City, and a grand niece, Evelina Harden, aged 16, of Laota. Another niece, Mrs. Margaret Harden, disappeared about fourteen years ago, and has not been heard of since."

The tears blurred the picture which accompanied the clipping, but she knew every feature of that kindly face by heart. After six months she was assailed once more by the desperate ache and grief which had borne down upon her that first day when she realized that her poverty forbade her returning to look just once again upon the face of him whose gentleness and love she had flouted. Never would she forget the longing to smooth down those two wild tufts of hair which had always stuck out from his temples.

"Well," she muttered, snapping the clasp on her pocketbook, "I didn't get to see him, but anyway I'll get a wreath for his grave. I'll maybe get a peak at the baby. Only she isn't a baby any more."

Again she wondered, as she often had during those fourteen years, how "the baby" had fared with her father.

"He'd be kind to her. He'd love her. She was such a sweet baby."

It was the same thought with which she had sought to soothe her conscience through all the years.

Even after Andrew's second marriage, two years after her disappearance, she had soothed herself with this idea. Now she remembered the pictures of that wedding—pictures in every Negro newspaper in the United States. It had all been carried out in grand style, that wedding, true to Louisiana traditions. It had taken place on Christmas Day, on the lawn of the Thiaux home, under a natural arbor of roses.

Margaret sighed. Roses at Christmas time. They were never more beautiful. She would see them again, and, maybe, pluck a few growing through the fence pickets in Uncle Louis's garden. No one would grudge her a rose or two.

She moved to the faded green cretonne curtain hanging across the corner behind her door, drew it back, and took down the black coat hanging there. Every time she put it on she breathed a prayer for being lucky that week before Thanksgiving when the Hurst Loan Company was giving coats away. She patted the inner pocket to be sure the cloth bag with her forty dollars was still there. Her round-trip ticket would cost about thirty-five dollars and a few cents.

Besides taking care of a few incidentals such as car and taxi fare, the balance would get her lodging and food in one of the humble homes where she would go. She would not go to the home of any one of her girlhood friends for shelter, not from any fear that they might recognize the slender, almost beautiful girl of sixteen in the thin, hard-featured, cynical-mouthed woman who looked at least twenty years older than she actually was, but because she knew that not one of them would open a door to the type she now represented.

But that knowledge had ceased to worry her, the only thing that mattered was that she had been able to scrape together enough money to buy her ticket home.

TICKET home! Her eyes sparkled as she buttoned her coat around her.

Ticket home! Her face lighted with a smile that found for an instant traces of her girlhood's beauty, as she picked up her pocketbook and lifted the cardboard suitcase from its place on the floor.

Ticket home! her hands trembled with eagerness as she stood in the dim hall and turned the key in the lock of her door.

Ticket home! Her feet recaptured the lost buoyancy of youth as she flew down the dirty, dark stairway to the street.

The chill of the day, the grimy slush

of trodden snow in the street, were unnoticed as she lifted herself aboard a street car; nor did she feel her usual annoyance at pushing through the crowded aisle to find a strap to cling to.

Ticket home! her heart sang as she lurched and swayed with the other passengers, on their way downtown, no doubt, to do last minute Christmas shopping. December 22! In twenty-four hours from the time her train left, she would be in Louisiana, where the roses were, and her baby.

Forgotten were the sacrifices and the expediencies by which the forty dollars had been obtained. The sacrifices had lifted her soul; the expediencies— well —. Only one thing mattered now— How would she manage to get sight of Evelina?

"I want to see her. I gotta, even if it's just a tiny glimpse. I gotta see my baby."

The frank, questioning stare of the woman above whom she was standing made Margaret realize that she must have spoken aloud. Her confusion vanished before the kindly, understanding smile which came into the other woman's eyes.

"I have to be careful," Margaret told herself, "or someone'll think I'm crazy."

The walk from the transfer point at Eighteenth and Walnut streets to Main street, and the wait there for the Union Station car, did not fret her as it usually did. Nor did she mind the honking, rushing taxis which interrupted her progress from the car through station plaza.

Not until she had passed through the revolving doors into the foyer and felt the warmth within, did she realize that she was shivering from cold and excitement.

"Gotta warm a minute, if I have time."

She glanced at the clock. Yes, plenty of time—forty-five minutes, in fact.

"I'll warm first, then get my ticket."

Crossing the foyer and entering the women's waiting room, she was making her way to a radiator, when her attention was drawn to a group of white women in a corner by the washbasins. Curiosity made her pause to stare at the group, but instinct reminded her:

"They're white. I got no right to stick my nose in their business. Better tend to my own."

Sound of sobs mingling with the distressed, coaxing voices of the women, each of whom seemed trying to give some one advice, roused Margaret's curiosity further.

"None of my business," she shrugged, turning her back just as one of the women glanced up at her. Evidently the woman who had looked up said something to the rest of the group, for the talking ceased.

"They needn't stop chattering. I'm not listening to what they're talking about." Margaret felt a hand on her shoulder. Turning, she faced the woman who had noticed her entrance.

"Excuse me," began the stranger, but perhaps you can help us."

"Help you?"

"Yes. You see, there's a little colored girl over here in distress. She's crying her heart out. She won't tell us what the matter is. When one of us suggested having the Traveler's Aid look after her, she nearly had a fit. Maybe you can get her to talk to you."

Margaret's eyes widened. Through her mind flitted the thought that no discerning woman of her own race would approach her to help a girl in distress.

She said, however. "Sure, I'll find out. I understand my girls. Just leave her to me."

With the expression of washing their hands of an extremely disagreeable piece of business, the white women picked up their luggage and left the room.

FOR a second Margaret and the girl stared at each other. What Margaret saw was a slender, graceful, dark, brown-skinned girl of sixteen, wearing a chic dubonnet velour tam aslant gleaming black curls which framed her delicately-featured, tear-stained face. Her navy-blue coat, of good warm woolen, stopped at the stylish length from the floor above shapely, silk-clad legs and small, well-shod feet.

"Class, all right. Belongs to the upper crust. Probably'll give me the high and mighty." But the smile Margaret gave the girl was returned readily.

"Come over here and sit down, and tell me all about it, little miss."

"Thank you." The southern accent was unmistakable. It had the flavor of Louisiana.

"Well?" They were seated side by side in two low rockers.

The girl began to talk.

"I know you'll think I'm an awful nuisance, carrying on as you saw me, but I'm in awful trouble."

"What's happened?"

"I—I've lost my ticket money, and all I had, besides."

"How'd that happen?" Margaret asked quickly, to check another flood of tears she saw rising.

"Some one cut the handles of my bag while I was coming from the train up here. There was such a crowd—"

"Had it dangling from your arm, I bet?" You should know better than to do that trick in Kansas City, or in any city, for that matter."

"Well, you see, I—I've never been in any big city, before—except New Orleans."

"New Orleans?"

"Yes, and then I was with my—my—father."

"Why didn't you let those women take you to the Traveler's Aid? They'd at least see that you could telegraph your father."

"Well—" The girl hesitated. She looked at Margaret questioningly, suspiciously.

"Go ahead, tell me. I won't make you any trouble. Only, make it snappy. I've gotta buy a ticket and grab a train, myself."

"You see. I'm running away—to my aunt in New York.—I can't let anybody like the Traveler's Aid know, because they might send me back home."

"Now, sister, you're a nice girl, from a nice home. I can see it in your manners and your clothes."

"Nice home!" There was anger and hate in the young voice. "If you mean a modern home and money and people to wait on you, like most people do when they say 'nice home,' then it was a nice home. But if you mean a place where there's love and kindness and understanding, it—it—was—hell to me."

"That's not the language for a girl like you to be using. Suppose you start in front and tell me everything, so's I can understand. I'll have to know, if you want me to help you."

"I'm not going to tell you where I'm from."

"You don't have to."

"Nor my name."

"You don't have to do that, either. But you're wasting my time."

"My father is the meanest man in the whole world."

"He couldn't be."

"Yes he is. He's so mean that my mother left him and me, when I was only two years old. She stole away one night, after putting me to bed."

The girl was too absorbed in herself to notice how Margaret's fingers suddenly tightened around the arm of her chair. Nor did she see the frozen, set look which stole over her face.

"My uncle took me to live with him, after mother ran away."

"I—thought you said you were living with your father."

"I have been, since June. My uncle—he really was my great-uncle—died last June."

"And your father was mean to you, after you went to live with him?"

"Yes, and his wife—my step-mother—was jealous of me. Between the two of them, I was almost crazy."

"How did you get money to run away?"

"My unc e had put some money in a Christmas saving for me. It was enough to buy my ticket to—where I want to go."

"Where's that?"

"New York."

(*Continued on page 29*)

Can the States Stop Lynching?

UP to December 15, when this piece is being written, seven lynchings had occurred in America during 1938. It may be that others will be staged before the end of the year, since in some previous years as many as two lynchings have been staged on December 31.

Of the present total of seven, four lynchings occurred in the State of Mississippi, Florida, Georgia and Louisiana had one each.

In no single instance was any action taken by the state looking toward the arrest and conviction of the lynchers. In no single instance was the sheriff or other peace officer even reprimanded for lack of diligence in safeguarding prisoners.

In the six weeks of filibustering last January and February against the Gavagan-Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill in the U. S. Senate, it was asserted repeatedly by southern senators who filibustered against the bill that the southern states could and would act to check the crime of lynching and to punish lynchers.

Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee, one of the leading opponents of the anti-lynching bill, went to the trouble of telegraphing governors of southern states asking them to wire him at the Senate their opinion on a federal anti-lynching bill. This action was the same as cabling Hitler asking his opinion of the Jews; but Senator McKellar read into the Congressional Record the telegrams from southern governors stating unanimously that a federal law was bad and that the states would handle this crime if the job were left to them.

Governor Hugh White of Mississippi was among the first to reply to Senator McKellar. Yet, Governor White has made no move in the four lynchings which his state contributed to the year's total.

Likewise, the governors of Florida, Georgia and Louisiana put themselves on record in the Senate as opposing a federal anti-lynching law and as pledging the powers of their office in a fight against lynching within their own state borders. Not one of them has acted on the lynchings which have taken place, although Georgia, in an unusual outburst of public opinion, rounded up some members of the mob which burned a Negro school in Smyrna, Ga. One member of the mob was sentenced to a year in jail. On the one actual lynching which took place at Arabi, Ga., July 9, the state has done nothing.

One of the seven victims was accused of raping a 74-year-old white woman; one was accused of attempting to criminally assault a white woman in Florida. Absolutely no proof of the Florida assault was made public, not even the usual excuses which some communities offer after a lynching has taken place.

In the January issues of THE CRISIS in 1937 and 1938 appeared reviews of the lynchings of the previous year under the above caption. We have used the same title and handled the material in the same way each year as an answer to the oft repeated assertion in and out of the United States that the states can and will act against the crime of lynching and that it is not necessary for the federal government to act

In the case of the aged woman in Mississippi, only the flimsiest excuse was offered and later advices by private investigators have established that the victim was entirely innocent and was lynched only because he had a community reputation for "refusing to stay in a Negro's place" and "refusing to bow and scrape" to the white people.

Two victims were accused of murder; one was lynched for failing to pay a debt; one for being drunk and failing to submit to arrest; and one man was killed by a mob which was hunting for another man.

One victim was burned, one was beaten to death, three were shot, one was hanged and one was hanged and shot.

The first lynching of the year occurred June 10 in Columbus, Miss. Wash Adams, a young Negro, was beaten to death with an iron bar by three young white men because he owed a balance of $10 on the funeral expenses of his wife. (*Although this lynching did not appear in the press, detailed information upon it was sent voluntarily to the N.A.A.C.P. by a reputable white attorney in Columbus, Miss.*)

The second lynching occurred in Rolling Fork, Miss., July 6, when a mob of 300 persons shot and killed Tom Green, 48, a colored blacksmith. The body was dragged several miles and burned at the spot where Green is alleged to have killed a white planter in an argument over wages.

The third lynching occurred within 72 hours of the second, on July 9, at Arabi, Ga. John Dukes, 60, who had resisted the efforts of a policeman to arrest him for drunkenness and had shot the policeman in a gun duel, was burned by a mob as he lay dying from gunshot wounds.

The fourth lynching occurred in Canton, Miss., July 21, when Claude Banks, a colored motorist, was stopped by a mob which was searching for another man. Banks was shot down during his questioning by the mob.

The fifth victim of the year was Otis Price on August 9 at Perry, Fla. Price was arrested because a white farm woman screamed that a Negro had attempted to assault her. Price was taken from the custody of the sheriff, his body riddled with bullets and his throat cut.

Ruston, La., staged the sixth lynching of the year on October 13 when a mob hanged R. C. Williams, 19, on the assumption that he had killed a white man in a local "lovers' lane" and beaten up the man's woman companion. Investigation of this case by two independent southern white men proves conclusively that Williams was not guilty of the crime. The lynching was one of the most brutal in recent years because the mob tortured Williams with a red hot poker before killing him. Each investigator who has gone to Ruston has asserted that Williams was merely "the goat" to satisfy public sentiment and that the real criminal is known generally in Ruston and particularly by the peace officers.

The seventh lynching of the year occurred in Wiggins, Miss., on November 21. Wilder McGown, 24, was lynched by a mob of 200 men for the alleged raping of a 74-year-old white woman. Private investigation of this lynching has uncovered strong evidence that McGowan was not guilty of the crime, but was lynched because he had an independent spirit.

The 1938 lynchings bring the total lynchings in the United States from 1882 to date to 5,120.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which again will sponsor a campaign for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law in the 76th Congress opening January 3, cites the 1938 lynching record as additional proof (if any were needed) of the necessity for federal action against lynching. Once more, in 1938, as they have in years past, the states demonstrated that they are unwilling or unable to preserve the guaranties to the individual citizen of due process of law and equal protection of the laws, as provided in the United States Constitution.

University of Missouri Case Won

In 1935 lawyers for the N.A.A.C.P. succeeded in opening the law school of the University of Maryland with an opinion from the Maryland court of appeals that the state university could not exclude a Negro student. On December 12, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the State of Missouri may not exclude a Negro student from the state university law school if it has no state-supported law school for Negroes

IN a sweeping six to two decision, the United States Supreme Court on December 12 handed down the opinion that the State of Missouri must furnish Negroes an opportunity to study law in a state-supported institution.

The case, brought by Lloyd L. Gaines, young Negro college graduate of St. Louis, was instituted three years ago when the University of Missouri refused to admit Gaines to its law school solely because of his color.

In its opinion, read by Chief Justice Hughes, the high court stated that Missouri was violating the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution by providing a state-supported law school for white students and failing to provide the same training for Negroes. Lawyers for the state had argued that the arrangement by which the state offered to pay tuition for Negro students at other universities outside of Missouri constituted equality, but the Supreme Court opinion held that this was not so and that equality must be provided "within the borders of the state."

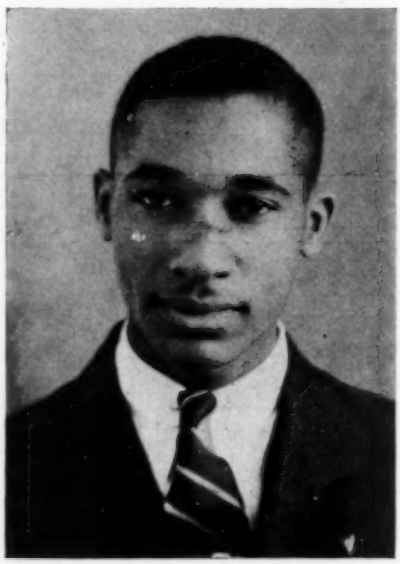
The Gaines opinion, with its sweeping assertions, is regarded as the most significant victory for Negro rights in the highest court of the land in the past decade. The N.A.A.C.P. lawyers who successfully argued for Gaines were Charles H. Houston, special counsel; and Sidney R. Redmond of St. Louis, president of the St. Louis branch. Assisting these two was Henry D. Espy, St. Louis lawyer and former president of the St. Louis branch.

Affects All Education

The Gaines opinion is so worded that it affects all phases of Negro education in those states which have separate schools for white and colored students. It reaffirms and re-emphasizes the previous opinions of the Supreme Court that separation is legal only when it provides equality between the two races. This assertion in the opinion, which is in the plainest of English, is regarded by the N.A.A.C.P. and other observers as opening the way for legal action to compel equalization of school funds, teachers salaries, equipment, and high school and elementary training. It can be used, also, in the struggle to improve bus transportation for rural pupils.

The N.A.A.C.P. has indicated that it expects to press forward on all fronts in the field of education for the improved training of colored children and young people.

Mr. Houston, in a statement issued immediately after the decision, stated that the opinion outlawed the various out-of-state scholarship laws which some southern states had hastened to pass in order to avoid the problem of providing training for Negro graduate and professional students within the states.



LLOYD L. GAINES
He won his fight

Already the southern states are discussing the steps next to be taken in order to conform to the Supreme Court's decision.

Part of Long Campaign

The Gaines case is part of a long campaign begun actively by the N.A.A.C.P. in 1935. The first big case—and victory—which came up, was the University of Maryland case where Donald Gaines Murray, Negro graduate of Amherst college and resident of Baltimore, applied for admission to the law school of the University of Maryland. He was denied on account of his color and the N.A.A.C.P., through Attorney Thurgood Marshall of Baltimore (now a member of the national legal staff), brought suit in the Baltimore city court. Murray and the Association won when the court ordered the university to admit him. The university appealed to the Maryland court of appeals, the highest state court, where again the university lost. Murray entered the law school and was graduated in the upper third of his class in June, 1938. He made an excellent record and was on friendly terms with the faculty and his classmates.

Turning momentarily from the university case, the N.A.A.C.P. attacked the unequal salary scales prevailing in Maryland and succeeded in having the salaries of Negro and white teachers in two counties in Maryland equalized. This accomplishment attracted the attention of the governor of Maryland who asserted that the lawyers for the state had advised him that a salary scale law based upon race was unconstitutional and that at the next session of the legislature he would ask for its repeal and the substitution of a single salary scale for all teachers in the state. It is estimated that the differential between white and colored teachers is about one-half million dollars annually.

With Maryland as a guide, Negro teachers in Virginia, Florida and Alabama have made preparations to attack the differential salary scales in the courts. A case is pending in Florida. A case has been filed in Virginia. A case is being prepared in Alabama.

All Down the Line

Mr. Houston and the legal staff of the N.A.A.C.P. will move on as soon as possible to the application of the Supreme Court's opinion to elementary and secondary schools, in an effort to secure as much benefit for the greatest number of colored students as possible. With the principle established in a university case, the campaign now will be to benefit education all down the line.

The majority opinion of the Supreme Court in the University of Missouri case was signed by Justice Hugo L. Black of Alabama and five others. The two justices who dissented were Mr. Justice McReynolds and Mr. Justice Butler. Their opinion did not cite any law, but merely asserted that Missouri had worked out a formula for handling the

race problem in education which it thought to be a good solution and that, therefore, it ought to be allowed to pursue it.

The complete text of the majority and minority opinions follows:

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 57.—OCTOBER TERM, 1938.

State of Missouri, at the relation of Lloyd Gaines, Petitioner, vs. S. W. Canada, Registrar of the University of Missouri, and the Curators of the University of Missouri } On writ of Certiorari to the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri.

(December 12, 1938)

Mr. Chief Justice HUGHES delivered the opinion of the Court.

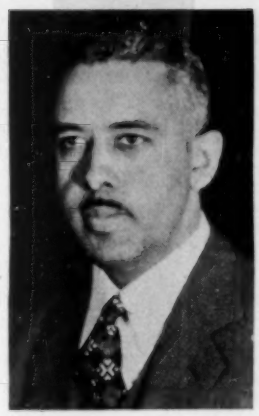
Petitioner Lloyd Gaines, a Negro, was refused admission to the School of Law of the State University of Missouri. Asserting that this refusal constituted a denial by the State of the equal protection of the laws in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution, petitioner brought this action for mandamus to compel the curators of the University to admit him. On final hearing, an alternative writ was quashed and a peremptory writ was denied by the Circuit Court. The Supreme Court of the State affirmed the judgment. 113 S.W.(2d) 783. We granted certiorari.—U.S.—.

Petitioner is a citizen of Missouri. In August, 1935, he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the Lincoln University, an institution maintained by the State of Missouri for the higher education of Negroes. That University has no law school. Upon the filing of his application for admission to the law school of the University of Missouri, the registrar advised him to communicate with the president of Lincoln University and the latter directed petitioner's attention to Section 9622 of the Revised Statutes of Missouri (1929), providing as follows:

"Sec. 9622. May arrange for attendance at university of any adjacent state—Tuition fees. —Pending the full development of the Lincoln university, the board of curators shall have the authority to arrange for the attendance of Negro residents of the state of Missouri at the university of any adjacent state to take any course or to study any subjects provided for at the state university of Missouri, and which are not taught at the Lincoln university and to pay the reasonable tuition fees for such attendance; provided that whenever the board of curators deem it advisable they shall have the power to open any necessary school or department. (Laws 1921, p. 86, #7.)"

Petitioner was advised to apply to the State Superintendent of Schools for aid under that statute. It was admitted on the trial that petitioner's "work and credits at the Lincoln University would qualify him for admission to the School of Law of the University of Missouri if he were found otherwise eligible." He was refused admission upon the ground that it was "contrary to the constitution, laws and public policy of the State to admit a Negro as a student in the University of Missouri." It appears that there are schools of law in connection with the state universities of four adjacent States, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa and Illinois, where non-resident Negroes are admitted.

The clear and definite conclusions of the state court in construing the pertinent state legislation narrow the issue. The action of the curators, who are representatives of the State



SIDNEY R. REDMOND
One of Gaines's attorneys

in the management of the state university (R.S.Mo., Sec. 9625), must be regarded as state action.[1] The state constitution provides that separate free public schools shall be established for the education of children of African descent (Art. XI, Sec. 3), and by statute separate high school facilities are supplied for colored students equal to those provided for white students (R.S. Mo., Secs. 9346-9349). While there is no express constitutional provision requiring that the white and Negro races be separated for the purpose of higher education, the state court on a comprehensive review of the state statutes held that it was intended to separate the white and Negro races for that purpose also. Referring in particular to Lincoln University, the court deemed it to be clear "that the Legislature intended to bring the Lincoln University up to the standard of the University of Missouri, and give to the whites and Negroes an equal opportunity for higher education—the whites at the University of Missouri, and the Negroes at Lincoln University." Further, the court concluded that the provisions of Section 9622 (above quoted) to the effect that Negro residents "may attend the university of any adjacent State with their tuition paid, pending the full development of Lincoln University," made it evident "that the Legislature did not intend that Negroes and whites should attend the same university in this state." In that view it necessarily followed that the curators of the University of Missouri acted in accordance with the policy of the State in denying petitioner admission to its School of Law upon the sole ground of his race.

In answering petitioner's contention that this discrimination constituted a denial of his constitutional right, the state court has fully recognized the obligation of the State to provide Negroes with advantages for higher education substantially equal to the advantages afforded to white students. The State has sought to fulfill that obligation by furnishing equal facilities in separate schools, a method the validity of which has been sustained by our decisions. Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, 544; McCabe v. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Rwy. Co., 235 U.S. 151, 160; Gong Lum v. Rice, 275 U.S. 78, 85, 86. Compare Cumming v. Board of Education, 175 U.S. 528, 544, 545. Respondents' counsel have appropriately emphasized the special solicitude of the State for the higher education of Negroes as shown in the establishment of Lincoln University, a state institution well conducted on a plane with the University of Missouri so far as the offered courses are concerned. It is said that Missouri is a pioneer in that field and is the only State in the Union which has established a separate university for Negroes on the same basis as the state university for white students. But, commendable as is that action, the fact remains that instruction in law for Negroes is not now afforded by the State, either at Lincoln University or elsewhere within the State, and that the State excludes Negroes from the advantages of the law school it has established at the University of Missouri.

It is manifest that this discrimination, if not relieved by the provisions we shall presently discuss, would constitute a denial of equal protection. That was the conclusion of the Court of Appeals of Maryland in circumstances substantially similar in that aspect, University of Maryland v. Murray, 169 Md. 478. It there appeared that the State of Maryland had undertaken the function of education in the law" but had "omitted students of one race from the only adequate provision made for it, and omitted them solely because of their color;" that if those students were to be offered "equal treatment in the performance of the function, they must, at present, be admitted to the one school provided." Id., p. 489. A provision for scholarships to enable Negroes to attend colleges outside the State, mainly for the purpose of professional studies, was found to be inadequate (Id. pp. 485, 486) and the question, "whether with aid in any amount it is sufficient to send the Negroes outside the State for legal education," the Court of Appeals found it unnecessary to discuss. Accordingly, a writ of mandamus to admit the applicant was issued to the officers and regents of the University of Maryland as the agents of the State entrusted with the conduct of that institution.

The Supreme Court of Missouri in the instant case has distinguished the decision in Maryland upon the grounds—(1) that in Missouri, but not in Maryland, there is "a legislative declaration of a purpose to establish a law school for Negroes at Lincoln University whenever necessary or practical;" and (2) that, "pending the establishment of such a school, adequate provision has been made for the legal education of Negro students in recognized schools outside of this State." 113 S.W. (2d) p. 791.

As to the first ground, it appears that the policy of establishing a law school at Lincoln University has not yet ripened into an actual establishment, and it cannot be said that a mere declaration of purpose, still unfulfilled, is enough. The provision for legal education at Lincoln is at present entirely lacking. Respondents' counsel urge that if, on the date when petitioner applied for admission to the University of Missouri, he had instead applied to the curators of Lincoln University it would have been their duty to establish a law school; that this "agency of the State," to which he should have applied, was "specifically charged with the mandatory duty to furnish him what he seeks." We do not read the opinion of the Supreme Court as construing the state statute to impose such a "mandatory duty" as the argument seems to assert. The state court quoted the language of Section 9618. R. S. Mo. 1929, set forth in the margin,[2] making it the

[1] Ex parte Virginia, 100 U.S. 313, 346, 347, Neal v. Delaware, 103 U.S. 370, 397; Carter v. Texas, 177 U.S. 442, 447; Norris v. Alabama, 294 U.S. 587, 589.

[2] Section 9618, R.S. Mo. 1929, is as follows:
"Sec. 9618. Board of curators authorized to reorganize.—The board of curators of the Lincoln University shall be authorized and required to reorganize said institution so that it shall afford to the Negro people of the state opportunity for training up to the standard furnished at the state university of Missouri whenever necessary and practicable in their opinion. To this end the board of curators shall be authorized to purchase necessary

mandatory duty of the board of curators to establish a law school in Lincoln University "whenever necessary and practicable in their opinion." This qualification of their duty, explicitly stated in the statute, manifestly leaves it to the judgment of the curators to decide when it will be necessary and practicable to establish a law school, and the state court so construed the statute. Emphasizing the discertion of the curators, the court said:

"The statute was enacted in 1921. Since its enactment no Negro, not even appellant, has applied to Lincoln University for a law education. This fact demonstrates the wisdom of the legislature in leaving it to the judgment of the board of curators to determine when it would be necessary or practicable to establish a law school for Negroes at Lincoln University. Pending that time adequate provision is made for the legal education of Negroes in the university of some adjacent State, as heretofore pointed out." 113 S.W. (2d) p. 791.

The state court has not held that it would have been the duty of the curators to establish a law school at Lincoln University for the petitioner on his application. Their duty, as the court defined it, would have been either to supply a law school at Lincoln University as provided in Section 9618 or to furnish him the opportunity to obtain his legal training in another State as provided in Section 9622. Thus the law left the curators free to adopt the latter course. The State court has not ruled or intimated that their failure or refusal to establish a law school for a very few students, still less for one student, would have been an abuse of the discretion with which the curators were entrusted. And, apparently, it was because of that discretion, and of the postponement which its exercise in accordance with the terms of the statute would entail until necessity and practicability appeared, that the state court considered and upheld as adequate the provision for the legal education of Negroes, who were citizens of Missouri, in the universities of adjacent States. We may put on one side respondents' contention that there were funds available at Lincoln University for the creation of a law department and the suggestions with respect to the number of instructors who would be needed for that purpose and the cost of supplying them. The president of Lincoln University did not advert to the existence or prospective use of funds for that purpose when he advised petitioner to apply to the State Superintendent of Schools for aid under Section 9622. At best, the evidence to which argument as to available funds is addressed admits of conflicting inferences, and the decision of the state court did not hinge on any such matter. In the light of its ruling we must regard the question whether the provision for the legal education in other States of Negroes resident in Missouri is sufficient to satisfy the constitutional requirement of equal protection, as the pivot upon which this case turns.

The state court stresses the advantages that are afforded by the law schools of the adjacent States, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa and Illinois, which admit non-resident Negroes. The court considered that these were schools of high standing where one desiring to practice law in Missouri can get "as sound, comprehensive, valuable legal education" as in the University of Missouri; that the system of education in the former is the same as that in the latter and is designed to give the students a basis for the practice of law in any state where the Anglo-American system of law obtains; that the law school of the University of Missouri does not specialize in Missouri law and that the course of study and the case books used in the five schools are substantially identical. Petitioner insists that for one intending to practice in Missouri there are special advantages in attending a law school there, both in relation to the opportunities for the particular study of Missouri law and for the observation of the local courts,[8] and also in view of the prestige of the Missouri law school among the citizens of the State, his prospective clients. Proceeding with its examination of relative advantages, the state court found that the difference in distances to be traveled afforded no substantial ground of complaint and that there was an adequate appropriation to meet the full tuition fees which petitioner would have to pay.

We think that these matters are beside the point. The basic consideration is not as to what sort of opportunities other States provide, or whether they are as good as those in Missouri, but as to what opportunities Missouri itself furnishes to white students and denies to Negroes solely upon the ground of color. *The admissibility of laws separating the races in the enjoyment of privileges afforded by the State rests wholly upon the equality of the privileges which the laws give to the separated groups within the State.* (Italics ours.) The question here is not of a duty of the State to supply legal training, or of the quality of the training which it does supply, but of its duty when it provides such training to furnish it to the residents of the State upon the basis of an equality of right. By the operation of the laws of Missouri a privilege has been created for white law students which is denied to Negroes by reason of their race. The white resident is afforded legal education within the State; the Negro resident having the same qualifications is refused it there and must go outside the State to obtain it. That is a denial of the equality of legal right to the enjoyment of the privilege which the State has set up, and the provision for the payment of tuition fees in another State does not remove the discrimination.

The equal protection of the laws is "a pledge of the protection of equal laws." Yick Wo v. Hopkins, 118 U.S. 356, 369. Manifestly, the obligation of the State to give the protection of equal laws can be performed only where its laws operate, that is, within its own jurisdiction. It is there that the equality of legal right must be maintained. That obligation is imposed by the Constitution upon the States severally as governmental entities,—each responsible for its own laws establishing the rights and duties of persons within its borders. It is an obligation the burden of which cannot be cast by one State upon another, and no State can be excused from performance by what another State may do or fail to do. That separate responsibility of each State within its own sphere is of the essence of statehood maintained under our dual system. It seems to be implicit in respondents' argument that if other States did not provide courses for legal education, it would nevertheless be the constitutional duty of Missouri when it supplied such courses for white students to make equivalent provision for Negroes. But that plain duty would exist because it rested upon the State independently of the action of other States. We find it impossible to conclude that what otherwise would be an unconstitutional discrimination, with respect to the legal right to the enjoyment of opportunities within the State, can be justified by requiring resort to opportunities elsewhere. That resort may mitigate the inconvenience of the discrimination but cannot serve to validate it.

Nor can we regard the fact that there is but a limited demand in Missouri for the legal education of Negroes as excusing the discrimination in favor of whites. We had occasion to consider a cognate question in the case of McCabe v. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., supra. There the argument was advanced, in relation to the provision by a carrier of sleeping cars, dining and chair cars, that the limited demand by Negroes justified the State in permitting the furnishing of such accommodations exclusively for white persons. We found that argument to be without merit. It made, we said, the constitutional right "depend upon the number of persons who may be discriminated against, whereas the essence of the constitutional right is that it is a personal one. Whether or not particular facilities shall be provided may doubtless be conditioned upon there being a reasonable demand therefor, but, if facilities are provided, substantial equality of treatment of persons traveling under like conditions cannot be refused. It is the individual who is entitled to the equal protection of the laws, and if he is denied by a common carrier, acting in the matter under the authority of a state law, a facility or convenience in the course of his journey which under substantially the same circumstances is furnished to another traveler, he may properly complain that his constitutional privilege has been invaded." Id., pp. 161, 162.

Here, petitioner's right was a personal one. It was as an individual that he was entitled to the equal protection of the laws, and the State was bound to furnish him within its borders facilities for legal education substantially equal to those which the State there afforded for persons of the white race, whether or not other Negroes sought the same opportunity.

It is urged, however, that the provision for tuition outside the State is a temporary one,—that it is intended to operate merely pending the establishment of a law department for Negroes at Lincoln University. While in that sense the discrimination may be termed temporary, it may nevertheless continue for an indefinite period by reason of the discretion given to the curators of Lincoln University and the alternative of arranging for tuition in other States, as permitted by the state law as construed by the state court, so long as the curators find it unnecessary and impracticable to provide facilities for the legal instruction of Negroes within the State. In that view, we cannot regard the discrimination as excused by what is called its temporary character.

We do not find that the decision of the state court turns on any procedural question. The action was for mandamus, but it does not appear that the remedy would have been deemed inappropriate if the asserted federal right had been sustained. In that situation the remedy by mandamus was found to be a proper one in University v. Maryland, supra. In the instant case, the state court did note that petitioner had not applied to the management of Lincoln University for legal training. But, as we have said, the state court did not rule that it would have been the duty of the curators to grant such an application, but on the contrary took the view, as we understand it, that the curators were entitled under the state law to refuse such an application and in its stead to provide for petitioner's tuition in an adjacent State. That conclusion presented the federal question as to the constitutional adequacy of such a provision while equal opportunity for legal training within the State was not furnished, and this federal question the state court entertained and passed upon. We must conclude that in so doing the court denied the federal right which petitioner set up and the question as to the correctness of that decision is before us. We are of the opinion that the ruling was error, and that petitioner was entitled to be admitted to the law school of the State University in the ab-

(*Continued on page* 18)

additional land, erect necessary additional buildings, to provide necessary additional equipment, and to locate, in the county of Cole the respective units of the university where, in their opinion, the various schools will most effectively promote the purposes of this article. (Laws of 1921, p. 86, #3.)"

[8] See University v. Murray, 169 Md. 478, 486.

The Influence of Negro Art

By Rudolph Dunbar

THAT Negro art is influencing the world was clearly demonstrated at the Exhibition of Nigerian Art at Zwemmer's Gallery in London, which was opened by the Rt. Hon. William Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State for the Colonies. For the first time, the dramatic simplification of form was expressed by an extremely observant and emotional race depicting Nigerian life, and not a stereotyped imitation from European copy-books.

In addition, a new school of painting and sculpture for Negroes has been opened by Mrs. Nommie Durell. Mrs. Durell is the director of art at Langford Grove School, Essex, and has recently created a sensation in the art world with an exhibition of work by the pupils of this school.

Owing to economic struggle, the Negro, unfortunately, is not sufficiently aware of his magnificant heritage in plastic arts. It is becoming increasingly evident that he should be impressed with the historic importance of his own culture of the past, and with the immediate importance of building up a tradition of his own modern conditions.

It is possible to draw parallels between African sculpture and the great periods of the art of Greece, Egypt, China, the Italian primitives and other great cultures of the past. That the modern movement in art owes a great deal to the primitive Negro cultures is fully recognized. Whilst the debt is admitted, the original culture itself has been allowed to die out, and there has been no noticeable encouragement for it to revive itself or to develop from where it left off.

Any efforts that have recently been made to create an interest in modern Negro art have given an impression of being rather selfconscious attempts to recapture the Negro art of the past without any realization that the modern Negro is living in a modern world. A living idea cannot remain static. Negro art has had a magnificent past, but no present. But this should not preclude the possibilities of its having a future, given suitable impetus and encouragement.

After the killing of the British Consul Phillips and his friends for their attempt to enter Benin during a religious festival, this in spite of the Royal prohibition, a punitive expedition sacked and burned the capital in 1891. They fetched from the palace and altars, bronzes which they sent back to London to be sold as scrap. Here these objects created a sensation for their aesthetic and technical qualities, contradicting the popular opinion held in Europe that Africa was barbarous and had always been so. After some research, some plaques were discovered depicting 16th century European costumes and so, with great relief, the experts attributed the possibility of Negroes executing such remarkable works of art to Portuguese influence which first entered Benin in the 15th century.

Even later critics and artists who admired Negro art refused to recognize any attempts at realism such as one finds in Benin bronzes, as being Negro at all; they insisted that it must be a hybrid art.

Art of Casting Old

Professor Frobenius has excavated some of the oldest African sculputures in Ifa, British Nigeria. These heads bear a close resemblance to Benin heads, as the first Benin king came from Ifa, recognizing its religious authority. As the High Priest of Ifa sent a bronze head as a yearly gift, it seems highly probable that the art of casting was learned from there, or at any rate from Yoruba, where it was practiced long before the Benin foundries. So that it seems that the art of casting was in West Africa long before the arrival of the whites.

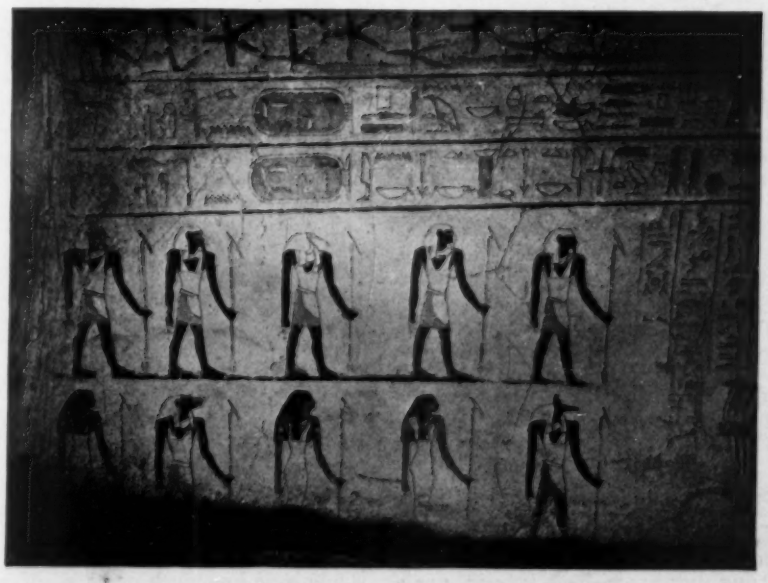
Art is made up of elements that are set down or indicated, physiologically. As every physiological experience has its psychic effect, it follows that all works of art made up of elements that have varying relationships of psychic effects. Fortunately for the Western artist, who is of a people who have little knowledge of psychic phenomena, artistic expression does not necessarily wait on any special degree of knowledge, and although it does not follow that a knowledge of the order and reasons that underlie artistic expression necessarily produce a work of art, a people such as the Negroes, who still have this knowledge of psycho-physical effects, is more likely to be sensitive to artistic expression as soon as it is given the opportunity to experiment.

Cultural diffusion is the basis of interracial and international understanding.

The Negroes have been segregated for many centuries partly by geographical barriers and they have, therefore, developed special characteristics, some of them functional, such as the protective pigmentation of the skin, but some of them also cutural. The African arts which have flourished for centuries have impressed all discerning people of the West since their discovery by Europe.

It seems that every great period of art flourished and developed so long as the group which produced it was homogeneous, but as soon as outside influence became greater, either by con-

(*Continued on page* 18)



Black Pharoahs of Egypt

More Southerners Discover the South

By Charles S. Johnson

Impressions of the recent Southern Conference on Human Welfare by one of the country's distinguished sociologists

LIBERALISM in the South is not a generalized social attitude; it is rather, where it exists at all, an aggregate of specific liberal views, some of which are mutually contradictory. This was one of the first observable characteristics of the group assembled in Birmingham, November 20th to 23rd, for the Southern Conference on Human Welfare. It was a curiously mixed body which included labor leaders and economists, farmers and sharecroppers, industrialists and social executives, government officials and civic leaders, ministers and politicians, students and interested individuals. No one knew at the outset what to expect, and no one was fully prepared for what actually happened as this new front formed for attack on the South's chronic ills.

If liberalism means anything at all it implies a willingness to subordinate personal prejudices and relax traditional sanctions where necessary in the interest of constructive social change. In this respect the Birmingham conference was as significant as it was historic. It drew together the largest group of liberals the South has witnessed. There were more than twelve hundred delegates present. It was the first bold emergence of the liberal South as a self-conscious group, inspired to action by the devastating government report on the region's economic and social plight.

In the South it is a form of liberalism, for example, to ignore the romantic tradition and face realistically the existence of a vast and backward peasantry. But this is not the same liberalism that seeks in the interest of struggling industry the abolition of differential freight rates. Similarly, it is a form of southern liberalism to advocate economic independence of the financial North and East, but not the same type that recognizes the necessity for wiping out racial differentials in industry and education. The most conspicuous contribution of the Conference was in achieving, first, a comfortable tolerance in diversity, and, later, in projecting a philosophy which revealed the organic relationship of many of the problems of the area, the solution of any one of which is conditioned upon the solution of the others.

Strategy Sound

The strategy of the Conference was sound. It aimed at being neither a labor meeting, nor a social work body, nor a race relations assembly. It sought to present the total regional configuration, with special elements and problems in their functional setting. The labor relations section, for example, attacked the encrusted opposition of the region to State wage and hour legislation. While encouraging southern industrial developments, it sought by proposals to reduce regional and racial wage differentials. Labor went on record as desiring greater unity in its programs in the area. It seemed unmistakably to be the feeling of the white labor delegates that the forward march of labor could not be maintained without according to the Negro worker full justice and fraternity. And it was not necessary in these discussions for a Negro to arise and ask for or demand such fraternity.

The question of suffrage, while acute for Negroes, is equally bad for that group described by President Graham, in his opening address, as the "underprivileged majority." In non-poll tax states 75 per cent of the persons of voting age actually vote, as compared with about 25 per cent in the poll tax states. The most effective way of extending the range of suffrage is by removing those artificial obstructions that have kept so large a part of the section virtually disfranchised. The Conference, accordingly, struck at the poll tax provisions which penalized most the economically handicapped and prevented them from voicing effectively their protest against their chronic predicament. The only major difference of opinion was on the method of repealing them. Some wanted Congress to enact uniform registration laws; others would go the slower route through the individual states and avoid the issue of States rights. The discussion of education moved inevitably into the problem of school finances and federal equalization aid and, aware of the customary mishandling of equalization funds in the past, the Conference found it expedient to work toward racial equalization within this framework.

There was a time when the problem of tenancy was regarded and promptly dismissed as a Negro problem. If it had been so discussed at this Conference it would have lost much of its significance for the South. Although most of the Negroes in southern agriculture are tenants and sharecroppers, most of the tenants and sharecroppers in the South are now white. Relief of the Negro situation is involved in relief of the general situation now so disastrously defective. The Conference gave its attention to the renovation of the ancient landlord-tenant statutes, to the extension of credit, to provisions for tenant farm purchase, and to essential rehabilitation. Implicit in all of this was the fact that the rationalization of southern agriculture could not proceed without including all farmers impersonally in the scheme.

One of the most significant features of the Conference was the presence and activity of southern youth, who came in large numbers. It is not without importance that it was in this section, rather than in the Race Relations section, that the discussion of the Anti-Lynching Bill reached its most dramatic heights. It precipitated a heated discussion between Congressman Patrick of Alabama and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and an inept answer by the Congressman to Mrs. Roosevelt's question why he opposed the Anti-Lynching Bill if he objected to lynching.

Race Issue Conspicuous

The race issue became the most conspicuous one of the Conference, and the concern about uprooting these traditions, obstructive as they have been to the development of the South, became so clamorous both in aggression and defense, it obscured much of really sound analysis and the proposals on other issues. The membership of the Conference, despite its diversity of specific interests, appears to have accepted the principle of full Negro participation and unrestricted seating. There have been, recently, other, though smaller meetings in Birmingham which did not invoke the segregation ordinances. After the first public meeting in the City Auditorium, police were sent to enforce the segregation ordinance, signs were posted and separate entrances designated for white and Negro delegates. It seems quite possible that other interests inimical to the Conference's program found it convenient to use the race issue, in the ancient manner, as the most effective means of confounding or perhaps nullifying the proceedings. A placid acceptance of the principle of segregation, even with knowledge of the ordinance, would, indeed, have nullified the spirit of the

Conference. It would have been incumbent upon the sponsors of the Conference to explain why a city had not been selected that placed less stress upon racial separation in meetings. The hysterical efforts to enforce segregation with riot squads, however, dramatized the very purpose of the Conference, and seems to have aroused more indignation over the ban than would normally have developed otherwise. One result was a Conference pronouncement which went farther, perhaps, than any similar group has dared in reasserting its principles of action far beyond the usual generalized good intentions of such groups, in protesting the ban and, further, resolving not to meet again in cities in which such ordinances exist or are enforced.

Question has been raised about the selection of Birmingham for such a conference. It is a city in the South that has been more exacting than most in preserving the ancient etiquette of race relations; it has few public leaders among either white or Negro populations. Its labor policy has been criticized and its general lethargy toward progressive social programs is known. But it is the most thoroughly industrial city in the South, the locus of many of the problems attacked, thus challenging the forthrightness, or the faith of the Conference sponsors in the essential soundness of their cause. More significant, however, and possibly explanatory of the unexpectedly general resistance of the segregation ban, is the fact of its large labor group that has only recently discovered that class interests cut across race lines. For years white and Negro labor groups have divided and competed racially to their mutual injury. Over the past seven years there have developed more than a hundred mixed labor union locals, and through this solidarity they have made the first substantial steps toward security. It was undoubtedly this submerged but solid sentiment that supported the racial philosophy of the Conference.

The conspicuousness of the race issue will not only keep obscure other basic interests of the Conference but may, indeed, make more difficult a second meeting or, at least, a place for it. There will be, wherever possible, reprisals taken for the part played in the movement. The first Chairman, Judge Louise O. Charlton, for example, who lapsed, unfortunately, into a minor tradition in addressing Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune as "Mary," found herself defeated for re-election, by a candidate, President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina, named from the floor, and, for her role in the Conference, may lose her position as Democratic Committeewoman.

Major Challenge to South

The raising of the racial issue was embarrassing and regrettable but not without its values. It gave emphasis, as did a current lynching, to the race tradition as the first major challenge to any movement aiming at social reconstruction in the South. Inevitably, the Conference will be accused of being politically inspired and may, indeed, have been. This, however, would not be wholly to its discredit. There is no evidence however, that this was the case.

A more serious apprehension might be entertained about its permanence. It lacks funds and, paradoxically enough, popular support, as do all other inspired social movements in the area. It will attract a fringe of whites and Negroes dangerous to its present objectives, and, at present its organization is still too weak and harassed for sustained defense either against such internal dangers or against more strongly entrenched conservative opposition from the outside.

In spite of the present confused state of public opinion on the wisdom of challenging at this time the racial traditions of the South, it seems likely that the dramatic test of these traditions will stand as an important precedent for any future meetings seriously concerned with southern welfare. The social maturity of the Negro delegates themselves, so well demonstrated in their own response to the situation, was a discovery of no little importance.

In all probability the impetus given by the Conference to Federal equalization of educational opportunity, and to the extension of suffrage, will stand out clearly as definite values. Labor's new position on the question of race undoubtedly found valuable reinforcement in the unsuspected number of supporters of this esesntial social philosophy. Moreover, the knowledge of the existence of a body of liberal opinion will serve to restrain some of the more demagogic appeals to the traditional prejudices of the area.

These values are open to the hazards of political distortion, and secret campaigns of reprisal and even vilification; and it remains a real question if these hazards can be sustained without the continued support of personalities and groups whose reputations are established for contributions to the South other than that of a point of view within the Conference itself. These personalities, in time, can and may achieve a substantial solidarity of liberal sentiment sufficient to constitute a real and moving force in the South. If the Negroes are to be most effective in the new strategy it will be necessary for more of them to be able to speak with knowledge and authority on issues other than the race problem. For they can never be presumed to speak wisely, or other than as special wards seeking group protection, unless they are known to be acquainted with the total structure of southern life and the confusing interrelationship of all of its problems.

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION APPROVES MEHARRY COLLEGE

The Council on Medical Education of the American Medical Association announced December 10 its approval of the residences in surgery, obstetrics-gynecology, pediatrics and medicine at Meharry Medical college, Nashville, Tenn. The college was inspected on November 9 and 10 by Dr. W. D. Cutter and Dr. H. H. Anderson and re-evaluated for the council. They were so impressed with the calibre of the work being done that upon their recommendations the council approved the residences at their December meeting. In announcing its approval the council stated that the great improvement in these departments was due to the excellent work of Dr. E. L. Turner during the past two years, who first as chairman of the hospital committee and later as president, reorganized the whole clinical division.

In a separate communication the council also announced the removal of probation from Meharry which has been in existence for nearly two years. The criticisms made by the council when the probation was instituted have all been met and Meharry now stands approved as an A class school without reservations.

Bitter-Sweet

By GLADYS MITCHELL

Life has left me little dreams,
Bitter-sweet and bright;
Dewdrops clinging to a rose,
Stars bedecking night.

Life has brought me lonely things,
Lusterless and plain;
Shadows on a crumbling wall,
Cold and slanting rain.

Life has loveliness and more
Which she keeps from me;
Why must all forbidden fruit
Crown the tallest tree?

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Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution by C. L. R. James. $3.75, 20% discount for educational institutions. Send for catalogue.
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Remember Me, Mister?

Courtesy Baltimore Sun

(*Reprinted from the November*, 1937, CRISIS)

Editorials

A New Fight for Democracy

THE lynching record of 1938 is reviewed briefly in this issue on page nine. Seven persons were put to death by mobs last year, four in the state of Mississippi alone. Georgia, Louisiana and Florida had one lynching each. In only two instances was any sex offense charged, and in one of these (Florida) the charge was never more than an hysterical assertion, without any support in fact.

The significant aspect of the 1938 lynchings, like those of 1937, 1936, and previous years, is that *the states in which the crimes occurred made absolutely no moves to apprehend and punish lynchers.*

Indeed, in one instance (Ruston, La., October 13) the Associated Press account indicates strongly that the sheriff collaborated with the mob. The account says he dickered with the leaders of the mob face to face, making a "gentleman's agreement" to permit the mob to keep the prisoner for a few more minutes, after which the hapless one would be turned over to the sheriff at a designated spot. Then as the sheriff smoked a cigarette or two (or perhaps a pack) while trustfully awaiting the mob, the victim was tortured with a red-hot poker, hanged and shot, his cries and the yipping of the white American he-men surrounding him being heard plainly by the representative of law and order.

The impressive "do-nothing" record of the states in lynching is the chief stimulus for the campaign to pass a federal anti-lynching law. The supporters of this legislation rest their case squarely on the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which declares: ". . . nor shall any *state* deprive a citizen of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

But this year, as anti-lynching bills are introduced into the new Congress, another argument for their passage has gained new importance. Democracy as a way of life is being challenged as never before. The dictatorships, smarting under our criticism of their treatment of their minority racial groups, are pointing to our lynchings.

So that when Mississippi and her sister states lynch a black man they are not only having a little local sport for the Main street hoodlums; they are lynching the Constitution, making a mockery of democracy, and throwing mud on the honor and dignity of their country before the world.

The fight for the passage of an anti-lynching bill is a fight for democracy in the truest sense of the word. If mobs may substitute themselves for the law and lynch, then no one is safe and we are no better, in actual fact, than Hitler.

Equal Opportunity in Education

IN the University of Missouri case, the United States supreme court has handed down an opinion of the greatest importance to colored citizens and to those working honestly for full democracy for all in this country. The court ruled that the state of Missouri may not provide a law school for the training of white students and refuse to provide the same training for Negro students. This practice, long in effect in Missouri and fifteen other southern and border states, is adjudged to be a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

The court also ruled that the so-called out-of-state scholarship laws on the books in Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee and Oklahoma did not provide equality of the kind to satisfy the Constitution. The states, said the opinion, must provide this training within their borders.

Already the more advanced southern states are studying how they can best follow the supreme court opinion. The obvious, sensible and economical course would be to admit the few Negro applicants who will qualify to the graduate and professional courses in the established universities. Public opinion is divided enough on this point in Missouri, Virginia, North Carolina and West Virginia to warrant those states taking this step, but the conservatives may prevent the action.

The great importance of the decision lies in the basis it provides for an attack on the whole structure of public education as it is now set up in states having separate school systems. The inequitable distribution of federal funds for education, the pitiable elementary schools, the lack of high schools, and the wide variation in salaries for teachers can now be brought into court with brighter chances of victory.

The first concrete action which can be taken by colored voters is to insist to their congressmen and senators that any bill appropriating federal money to the states for education must have a clause insuring equitable distribution of the money by the states having separate schools. In their argument in the Gaines case, N.A.A.C.P. lawyers showed that Missouri, for instance, received $408,000 in federal money during 1934, but allotted only $3,000 to Negro education. This practice can be stopped.

THE CRISIS salutes Associate Justice Hugo L. Black for joining in with the majority opinion. Although he hails from Alabama, and although two of his colleagues, Butler and McReynolds, chose to write a dissenting opinion based on expediency rather than law, Justice Black fulfilled his oath of office by sticking to the clear meaning of the Constitution.

A great victory was won in the University of Missouri case. The door to full citizenship for the Negro was opened still wider.

Jim Crow Christian Science

THERE was a time when THE CRISIS would have got very indignant over Jim Crow Christianity such as that revealed in correspondence between the Mother Church of Christian Science in Boston, Mass., and a colored woman in Harlem.

But the subject is an old one. Everything that could be said in condemnation has been said. The contempt of colored people and of enlightened white people for such arrangements in the name of religion is fairly universal. Christian Science, or Catholicism, or Methodism, or Holy Rollerism cannot be such great shakes as religion if little children, or their parents, cannot worship without being separated according to color.

The Christian Science correspondence reproduced in THE CRISIS last month proves only that marble churches, impressive Grecian columns, and Boston English do not constitute religion.

Against one item, however, we must protest. It irritates us more than the baldest hypocrisy or inconsistency. We mean the tender solicitude of white people for our happiness. We think it is about time another excuse is found for segregation. Come on, our good friends, you can do better than that!

U. of Missouri Case

(Continued from page 12)

sence of other and proper provision for his legal training within the State.

The judgment of the Supreme Court of Missouri is reversed and the cause is remanded for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion.

It is so ordered.

(Dissenting Opinion)

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 57.—October Term, 1938

State of Missouri, at the relation of Lloyd Gaines, Petitioner, vs. S. W. Canada, Registrar of the University of Missouri, and the Curators of the University of Missouri. } On writ of Certiorari to the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri.

Separate opinion of Mr. Justice McREYNOLDS.

Considering the disclosures of the record, the Supreme Court of Missouri arrived at a tenable conclusion and its judgment should be affirmed. That court well understood the grave difficulties of the situation and rightly refused to upset the settled legislative policy of the State by directing a mandamus.

In Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education, 175 U.S. 528, 545, this Court through Mr. Justice Harlan declared—"The education of the people in schools maintained by state taxation is a matter belonging to the respective States, and any interference on the part of Federal authority with the management of such schools cannot be justified except in the case of a clear and unmistakable disregard of rights secured by the supreme law of the land." Gong Lum v. Rice, 275 U.S. 78, 85—opinion by Mr. Chief Justice Taft—asserts "The right and power of the state to regulate the method of providing for the education of its youth at public expense is clear."

For a long time Missouri has acted upon the view that the best interest of her people demands separation of whites and Negroes in schools. Under the opinion just announced, I presume she may abandon her law school and thereby disadvantage her white citizens without improving petitioner's opportunities for legal instruction; or she may break down the settled practice concerning separate schools and thereby, as indicated by experience, damnify both races. Whether by some other course it may be possible for her to avoid condemnation is matter for conjecture.

The State has offered to provide the Negro petitioner opportunity for study of the law—if perchance that is the thing really desired—by paying his tuition at some nearby school of good standing. This is far from unmistakable disregard of his rights and in the circumstances is enough to satisfy any reasonable demand for specialized training. It appears that never before has a Negro applied for admission to the Law School and none has ever asked that Lincoln University provide legal instruction.

The problem presented obviously is a difficult and highly practical one. A fair effort to solve it has been made by offering adequate opportunity for study when sought in good faith. The State should not be unduly hampered through theorization inadequately restrained by experience.

This proceeding commenced in April, 1936. Petitioner then twenty-four years old asked mandamus to compel his admission to the University in September, 1936, notwithstanding plain legislative inhibition. Mandamus is not a writ of right but is granted only in the court's discretion upon consideration of all the circumstances. Duncan Townsite Company v. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, 245 U. S. 308, 311; United States ex rel. Arant v. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, 249 U.S. 367, 371.

The Supreme Court of Missouri did not consider the propriety of granting the writ under the theory of the law now accepted here. That, of course, will be matter open for its consideration upon return of the cause.

Mr. Justice BUTLER concurs in the above views.

Negro Art

(Continued from page 13)

quest, trade or other contacts, the original arts and cultures would be absorbed by the larger influence and a new and powerful culture would in its turn rise and fall into decay.

The disintegration of an original and conservative group of peoples is particularly noticeable when it comes into contact with the scientific commercialism of the western world. The arts of Japan and New Zealand are two examples, and Africa is another. It is true that art is still practiced in parts of Africa, but it is weak compared to the work produced before the invasion of whites.

The Economic System

Apart from economic reasons, and the shocking persecution of the Negro, too familiar to need repeating, another and more subtle action is at work destroying most culture throughout the world, so much so that folk art is practically extinct except in remote places where geographical features still segregate the people from the wireless and other links with the outside world. This action, namely, the present economic system has a weakening influence on even these remote groups, and outside them there are but few individual artists who have strength enough to withstand opposition from the present system.

It seems that, since the Industrial Revolution disintegrated all traditional modes of life, breaking up the social groups, destroying with them the old forms of people's art, no people's art has taken its place (with the possible exception of the cinema). In order to keep going the wheels of the machine which has been set in motion by the great creative scientists, everyone has had a small and relatively unimportant amount of scientific, or rather, mechanical, education instilled into him. All the things that make up the life of the individual, such as Art, Religion and Pleasure, have been severely thrust into the background, and all values are measured by money. Some consciences, especially in connection with the pleasure of life, are slowly being won back for the majority of the people from the minority who hold the reins, but there are worlds to regain and, in the meantime, as the individual has been so long divorced from cultural things, he does not know what he needs or what he is missing.

It is now left to the artists, critics and philosophers to show him they way, if he will follow. Unfortunately, the ordinary person will rarely listen to the specialist. He has been hypnotized and muddled for so long by the industrialists and other people dealing with the economics of practical living. This is especially true amongst the Negro races who have had to fight harder during the last two hundred years for an economic existence than most other peoples.

As soon as the Negro race turns its attention to the historic importance of its past cultures, and consequently discovers the necessity of evolving a contemporary one, it will develop this side of its life much faster and with greater success than the western races. One reason for this supposition is that it has not been so long divorced from a people's culture as the westerners have. The Negro folk music is evidence of this.

The Negro race will also have the advantage of being able to profit quickly from the social improvements evolved by the western people just as soon as it is allowed to do so. Before the Negroes, or any of us, can balance our cultural and economic methods, it will be imperative for the conditions which exist now, due to the present form which society takes in the greater part of the world, to be altered. The premium laid on mechanical and scientific accomplishments, practically to the exclusion of everything else, is essential to the rulers of to-day. Everything is directed into profit-making, and the meagre amount of pleasure and leisure allowed to us is just enough to keep us from going insane.

TO THE OPPRESSORS

By Pauli Murray

Now you are strong
And we are but grapes aching with ripeness.
Crush us!
Squeeze from us all the brave life
Contained in these full skins.
But ours is a subtle strength
Potent with centuries of yearning,
Of being kegged and shut away
In dark forgotten places.

We shall endure
To steal your senses
In that lonely twilight
Of your winter's grief.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

The Mob Punishes the Innocent

***The Black Dispatch*, Oklahoma City, Okla.**

OPINES the *Daily Oklahoman* in its editorial column, Tuesday, November 15:

"For several years now there has been pending in the American Congress a bill which proposes to levy a severe fine upon any county in which a mob-murder has been committed and force all of the people of the offending county to help pay a substantial sum of money to the surviving relatives of the mob's victim.

"Of a somewhat kindred nature to that bill is the policy now being employed by the Hitler government. A German representative of government has been shot to death by a youthful Jew in Paris and immediately a fine of $400,000,000 is levied upon the Jewish population of Germany.

"None of the punishment imposed upon the Jews of Germany has been inflicted upon the one guilty party. All of it is imposed upon people who are entirely guiltless."

We wonder whether or not the editor of *The Daily Oklahoman* could not have drawn a more accurate picture from American life to compare with what is going on in Germany today. Since the Wagner-VanNuys bill has never been enacted into law, its effect upon the people is more or less chimerical. We can find another view which lets the light through far more clearly.

Down at Tulsa in 1921 a lone Negro was charged, but never proven guilty, of having raped a white girl. Fifteen thousand innocent, helpless, black people who lived in that city suffered the loss of their homes and many were killed as a result of an unproven charge against one black man.

Hanging up before me as I write these lines are two large pictures of burned, devastated and destroyed Tulsa of 1921. These pictures answer the question asked by the Oklahoman in a concluding paragraph of Tuesday morning's editorial:

". . . we wonder if there is any place in any sane system of government to punish the innocent multitude for the crime of the individual."

We are horrified in America today because Jews are not permitted to enter the hotels, public conveyances and enjoy theaters where Germans recreate. But why shed crocodile tears over the fate of the Jews in Berlin when here in America we treat black folk in the same manner every day?

Not alone in the theaters, but what would happen to Negroes in Oklahoma City were they to enter one of God's temples in the Sooner capital in an attempt to worship the Great Creator by the side of white communicants? Why the comparison is so definite and clear we are almost wont to feel Germans secured the pattern of Nazi violence visited upon the Jews from white America. We have effected the social, political and economic crucifixion of Negroes over such a long period in America, millions view it every day without a prick of conscience.

What other explanation can be given to racial outbreaks in the southland, when some impoverished, destitute peon, whose face happens to be black, fights back? The terrible experience of the sharecroppers at Elaine, Ark., several years ago is a fine example, or let us say the East St. Louis riots, resulting from efforts of a few hungry black men to replace striking white workers, all evidence the same techniques of mass terrorism and brutality now visited upon the Jews. We can look upon any of these outbreaks as anything other than that of government which seeks to "punish the innocent multitude for the crime of the individual."

Let us turn back a moment to the argument presented in *The Daily Oklahoman*. If the Wagner-VanNuys bill is passed, it is alleged that innocent white people in the community, who had nothing to do with a mob, would be penalized by the provisions of the proposed law. It is the argument of the proponents of this type of legislation that a mob could not take control of a community unless it has local sanction.

Surely the Oklahoman would not argue that the mob is superior in its force and power to the city, county and state government wherein the mob commits lawless acts. No law on the statute books is superior to group sentiment and sanction, and likewise whenever the mob advertises in advance its intentions, and gathers thousands from adjoining counties to participate in its Roman holiday, it can be readily understood that deepseated in the body politic is agreement and approval.

No, the comparison made by *The Daily Oklahoman* regarding the Wagner-VanNuys anti-lynching bill and the contemporary German attitude toward Jews is a poorly drawn picture and far-fetched in imagination. The failure of American communities to apprehend, prosecute and convict mobs, proves collusion and guilt on the part of the entire community life. On the other hand, there is no better example of the present-day German complex and ideology than in the American attitude toward its Negro citizens.

Several weeks ago, when a twelve-year-old Negro boy shot and fatally wounded a white boy in New Roads, peace officials in that community were quick to arrest the Negro lad, arraign him, indict him on a charge of murder and sentence him to life in prison. . . .

A case in counterpart occurs in New Orleans, except that no action is taken by indifferent police and one is led to believe that the racial difference of the principals involved in the cause. Samuel Green, who died last week as the result of being shot as he played basketball with boys of his own group, was a Negro. The boy suspected of having fired the fatal shot is white. But no arrests have been made nor other action taken by police, in spite of the fact that what is believed to be conclusive evidence has been furnished them by the dead boy's parents. . . .—New Orleans, La., *Weekly*.

In the benighted state of Georgia the arch foe of progress, the Ku Klux Klan, has raised its angry head and declared open war upon the Textile Workers Organization Committee which is an affiliate of the C.I.O. It has been often said that you can tell a man by the kind of enemies he makes. If this is true of organizations also, then the C.I.O. is certainly an unparalleled social blessing in our land. . . .—Detroit, Mich., *Chronicle*.

The alleged ousting of several colored students from the downtown Y.M.C.A. solely on grounds of color provides a brilliant example of what Christianity means to some of us in America. If the charges that have been made against the Y.M.C.A. are true, certainly we have to admit that teachings of Jesus play a very limited part in the lives of those who profess to follow them.—The Michigan *Chronicle*, Detroit, Mich.

An Interview with André Gide

By Mercer Cook

TWO factors have prompted the writing of this article: first, the conviction that American Negroes should be better acquainted with a distinguished author who has done much to ameliorate the condition of French Africans; and secondly, a thought-provoking idea expressed one afternoon by M. Gide.

At seventy, André Gide has remained in full possession of those qualities which have made him the most important living French writer. His love of humanity, the purity of his style, his lucid intelligence, absolute independence, and amazing frankness have won for his writings—most of which are introspective—wide acclaim and wild attacks. Few authors can boast of fewer indifferent readers, for his independent spirit is such that those who defend Gide today may find themselves compelled to oppose him to-morrow. This was the recent experience of Communists, who are now calling him "traitor" because he dared report, after his visit to Russia, that all was not for the best in the best of all possible Soviets.

M. Gide's interest in the Negro has probably sprung from a number of sources, many of which find their origin in the man's general make-up. Although his wealth and social position could easily have made him indifferent to the lot of the underprivileged, his sensitive temperament and intelligence developed an acute social consciousness. In the autobiography of his early years, *Si le grain ne meurt*,[1] he has stated his preference for the humble: "I have never felt inclined to portray the triumphant or glorious of this world, but rather those whose truest glory is hidden." (p. 29).

Moreover, M. Gide's contacts with colored people date from his youth. In the aforementioned autobiography he tells of the excellent piano lessons given him by a Marc de la Nux, cousin of the famous creole poet, Leconte de Lisle. His description of M. de la Nux would suggest that the latter was of mixed blood: "Marc de la Nux . . . owed to his origin his half-crinkly hair . . . his olive complexion and his languid look." (p. 239) It is also known that at least two of Leconte de Lisle's relatives married mulattoes, and numerous nineteenth century writers have commented on the negroid strain in many of the so-called whites of the Ile de la Réunion.

[1] *Nouvelle Revue Francaise*, 1928

André Gide, famous Frenchman of letters, suggests the Negro lacks a critical sense

That M. de la Nux exerted a profound influence on young Gide is evident in the following passage: "I had for him," writes M. Gide, "a kind of veneration, a respectful and fearful affection, like that which I felt a little later for Mallarmé, and which I never experienced except for those two men . . . Marc de la Nux was not only a teacher; even his personality was of the most remarkable, his entire life admirable."

Seven Trips to Africa

Africa has had a peculiar attraction for André Gide. By 1938 he had visited North Africa seven times. In at least two of his works, he has related his sometimes sensational experiences with handsome brown Arabs. World-wide brotherhood was his answer to the narrow nationalistic doctrine then being championed in France by Barrès.

In 1926, M. Gide pushed on to the darker part of the Dark Continent, and published an account of his trip in two volumes: *Le Voyage au Congo*, and *Le Retour de Tchad*.[2] These works did more to direct public attention to colonial abuses than any other French books since *Batouala*. Whereas the Negro, René Maran, could be and was, accused of exaggerating because of his racial identity, no such charge could be made against André Gide, descendant of an old French family, and son of a professor of law at the University of Paris. Moreover, *Batauala* was Maran's first important work, but Gide's authority had been established since the turn of the century. Colonial authorities and impartial readers were therefore obliged to accept at face value his denunciation of conditions in French Equatorial Africa.

Gide's African travel accounts do not portray the native as a romantic "noble savage." Without minimizing the Negro's shortcomings, he insists on the brutality of many colonial functionaries, the cheating and cruelty of certain officials representing companies with concessions in Africa,—all of which he discusses in a manner realistic yet sympathetic to the native. Gide's friendship with his Negro servant Adoum provides an interesting commentary on the author's humanitarianism. Moreover, a sentence like the following would, in this writer's opinion, be sufficient to recommend the entire volume: "The less intelligent the white man is, the more stupid the black man seems to him."[3]

The *Voyage au Congo* has become one of Gide's best known works. When he visited Russia three years ago, he observed: "most often it was the *Voyage au Congo*"[4] that his Russian admirers had read. Because of the significance of that volume, I wrote M. Gide's publishers several years ago for authorization to include one of the important passages in a text book. Not only was this permission granted; M. Gide also called to my attention three pages in the companion volume[5] in which he pays tribute to Adoum and the race the latter represents.

About the American Negro

Early in June, at the suggestion of a young Senegalese scholar and friend of M. Gide, I wrote the latter requesting an interview. Two weeks later came this brief note, written in the great author's hand:

"Cher Monsieur,

I returned last night from Holland, where your letter had been forwarded to me.

If you will call me Monday morning (before ten) we can make an appointment.

Cordially,
André Gide."

The appointment arranged, I went to M. Gide's spacious apartment on the quiet rue Vaneau. Ushered into the author's study, which was more like a huge studio, I saw a man who seemed hardly more than forty-five years of age, tall, sturdy, masculine, sympathetic in appearance, with the most penetrating eyes I have ever beheld. His informal manner immediately put his visitor at ease.

"I'm hard at work, you see," he said, pointing with a smile to a volume of Montaigne's essays and several sheets of paper on his desk. "I can give you but a few moments this morning."

[2] *NRF*, 1927 and 1928

[3] *Voyage au Congo*, p. 21.
[4] *Retour de L'U.R.S.S.*, (Paris, 1938) p. 30.
[5] *Retour du Tchad*, pp. 108–111.

Our conversation that day was accordingly brief and rather banal. I did most of the talking, trying to tell the famous Frenchman something of the American Negro and his problems, and all the while these piercing eyes were riveted on me. Was I overstaying my time? What could I say to make this powerful man include the American Negro in his crusade for justice toward the Frenchman of color? These and other thoughts were going through my mind when M. Gide suddenly rose, thanked me for coming and added:

"I am sure we have many interesting things to say to each other. Will you come again? I'll drop you a note in a few days."

True to his word, the novelist invited me to return the following Saturday morning. This time another writer was present, Julien Green, an American of Georgian and Virginian parentage, who has made his home in France almost from birth. He has, of course, visited the United States (and especially the South); and I wondered about his reactions on the race question. In fact, I have never quite understood why Gide had arranged for Green to be present, unless perhaps he wanted both sides represented. Mr. Green spoke as a liberal, however, more than an ocean removed from a Jim Crow system.

On this occasion, M. Gide entered more freely into the discussion. He regretted that he knew little or nothing about American Negro literature. Several years earlier he had been introduced to Walter White, and was still trying to understand how the courageous secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. could be considered a Negro. I told him of some of our other writers, and mentioned particularly James Weldon Johnson whose tragic death had only recently occurred.

Nazism and Negrophobia

This led to a discussion of discrimination and race prejudice. "Do you not think", asked M. Gide, "that the Nazi anti-semitic campaign is more terrible than American Negrophobia?"

"No", I replied, "for the unfair conditions in America have lasted longer, and seem more permanent. Hitler is, in all probability, a temporary plague from which Germany may recover."

It should be noted that at the time of our conversation, the most recent and violent outbreak against Germany's Jews had not yet taken place. On the other hand, the Louisiana lynching and the Smyrna (Georgia) race riots have also occurred since my visit.

Anxious to know the author's views, I questioned him about schools in Senegal, which he had recently visited on an official mission. In replying, he praised the African students for their eagerness and ready comprehension, and then made the significant comment to which I alluded in the first paragraph:

"What worried me", said M. Gide, "was that the natives could turn in such excellent descriptions of August or Spring, for example, when they did not know those seasons. It would seem that Negroes lack critical sense."

"But, M. Gide," I countered, "is this not the fault of the teacher who had assigned such a subject?"

"Of course it is; but the students should have objected."

The conversation went to other topics, but I continued to ponder the Frenchman's remark, and to apply it to American Negroes as well. How often, here in the United States, we Negroes allow others to do our critical thinking for us, and tell us which of our actors, writers, singers and artists to applaud! How frequently we confuse mediocrity with superiority and extol an indifferent performance, merely because the performer happens to belong to our group! In my teaching experience, time and time again it has been necessary to argue with students that a statement need not be Gospel truth simply because it has appeared in print. Would we continue to advertise products for bleaching and hair straightening—which make us extremely vulnerable to outside attacks—if that critical sense were fully developed? The more I reflected, the more evident it became that in the economic, political and religious life to the American Negro, this same critical sense was one of his greatest needs.

I did not see M. Gide again before leaving Paris. I may or may not have been able to give him a clear picture of the Negro American, but I have him to thank for, among other things, a vital suggestion to my people and to me.

Equality

By Andy Razaf

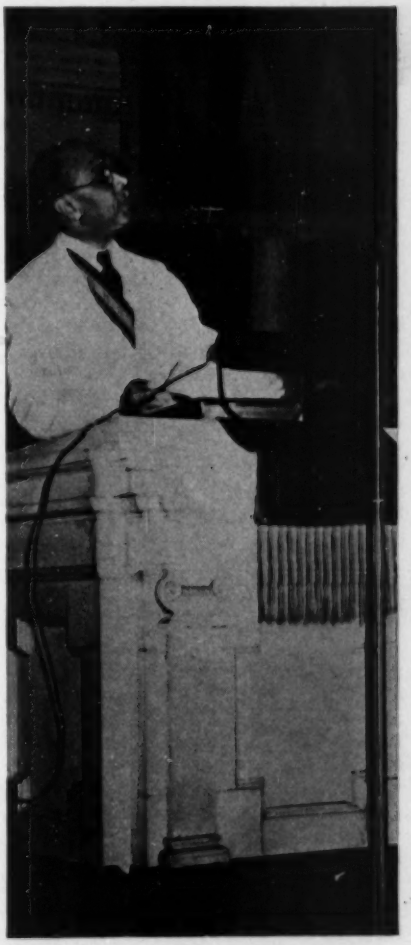
Bone is bone and flesh is flesh
When worms come out to dine
For they will feast on your remains
Just as they'll feast on mine.

Graveyard's gonna claim you too:
It draws no color line.
Your body's got to die and rot
And wither, just like mine.

Up at the Great Recorder's gate
We both shall wait to sign
And there your record will be read
And judged, the same as mine.

Death is the one democracy
That's truly real and fine,
The end of all hypocrisy,
A friend of yours—and mine.

He Speaks Again for Posterity!!



James Weldon Johnson speaking at the Detroit NAACP Conference, 1937

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Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Seventh Lynch Victim Innocent, Report Indicates

Wilder McGowan, seventh victim of lynching mobs during 1938, was wholly innocent of the charge of criminal assault on a 74-year-old white woman at Wiggins, Miss., according to reports which have been made to the N.A.A.C.P. by a private investigator.

McGowan was lynched November 21 by a mob of 200 men who claimed they had followed his trail with bloodhounds.

The N.A.A.C.P. investigator, a southern white man, reports:

"It is generally known that McGowan was completely innocent of the crime for which he was put to death and that the alleged crime was merely used as an excuse to lynch McGowan because he was a Negro who 'did not know his place.'

"We are informed that he was manly and refused to be intimidated by the ruffianly whites of Wiggins and had on several occasions been engaged in altercations when they sought to abuse and mistreat him; that on one occasion when a mob of armed drunken whites in an automobile ordered all the Negroes to run, McGowan refused to do so and was attacked by the mob.

"He fought back and took a revolver from one of the white men, whereupon the mob let him alone. However, they bitterly resented his refusal to let them treat him as they wished."

The lynching of McGowan brought the total for Mississippi to four. Florida, Georgia and Louisiana had one lynching each, making a total of seven.

The McGowan lynching occurred at the height of the wave of protest in the United States against Hitler's treatment of Jews in Germany.

In this connection, it should be noted that Bishop Edwin Holt Hughes, senior bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church, presided at a Methodist gathering in Philadelphia where a strong resolution condemning Hitler's treatment of the Jews was adopted; but a resolution which was proposed to place the gathering on record in support of federal anti-lynching legislation was ignored. Bishop Hughes objected to a part of the proposed resolution which said lynching "is tolerated" in the United States. Bishop Hughes' comment was:

"It may do our country an injustice since it is not quite the fact that lynching is tolerated."

Seek Cloture Vote To Aid Lynch Bill

With a slightly revised draft of last year's federal anti-lynching bill ready for introduction into the Senate and the House upon the opening of Congress in January, supporters of anti-lynching legislation, led by the N.A.A.C.P. are concentrating upon lining up senators to vote for cloture (limitation of debate).

It is fairly certain that the new bill can be got through the House. If the House judiciary committee refuses to bring it out, there are enough friendly congressmen to sign a discharge petition and bring the bill out of committee.

Once out of committee by this method, the bill comes up on the floor in a certain number of days, debate is limited, and a vote must be taken.

In the Senate, however, it is a different story. The bill can be got to the floor, but not as easily as in the House. Once on the floor, the real danger is a filibuster and about the only way to break a filibuster in which numerous senators take part is to limit debate, or vote for cloture. In order to invoke cloture, a vote of two-thirds of the Senate is required.

An N.A.A.C.P. survey, which includes answers to questionnaires and performances in the last Senate, indicates that at present there are 39 or 40 sure votes for cloture.

N.A.A.C.P. branches and interested cooperating organizations are urged to try to secure commitments from their senators to vote for cloture once the bill comes to the floor.

Florida Teachers Unite For Equal Salaries

In their annual state convention during Thanksgiving weekend, 1,700 Florida teachers voted, without a dissenting voice, to give full financial support in the state-wide fight to equalize the salaries of colored and white teachers in the public schools.

The vote was taken after an address by Thurgood Marshall, of the N.A.A.C.P. legal staff, who went to Florida in connection with the case of John Gilbert in Brevard county, Florida. Mr. Gilbert was dismissed by the county board of education after he had filed suit asking to have his salary equalized.

The Florida Teachers' Association voted to raise a defense fund for Gilbert and to provide him with tuition for one year, while his case is being fought, so he will be better prepared for his next teaching job.

Meanwhile, in Maryland, Mr. Marshall has filed a petition with the state board of education asking that the state funds for education not be distributed on a discriminatory basis.

The Maryland teachers are seeking to enjoin the distribution of state school funds on the ground that at present they are distributed on the basis of an unequal and illegal salary scale.

Fight for Democracy Must Be Broad One Say White and Wright

The fight for democratic rights and against the tide of fascism must be a broad one including all minority groups if it is to be successful, it was declared last month by Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the N.A.A.C.P. board; and Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary.

Mr. White spoke Sunday morning, November 27, at the New York Free Synagogue in Carnegie Hall. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise is the rabbi of the synagogue. The N.A.A.C.P. secretary declared that democracy was taken "too much for granted" in this country and that the world would not return to sanity "unless we can first learn to deal justly with each other as individuals, as members of minorities, as races and as nations."

Dr. Wright, speaking over radio station WEVD December 2, said America stood in the forefront of the democracies of the world and "that is why the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People calls upon all minorities in America to scrutinize their ranks, wipe out last vestiges of prejudice there, and having done this, proceed to the task of wiping out these prejudices from other sections of our citizenry."

The same note was sounded by Mr. White in accepting membership on a council of 50 Americans organized to stem the tide of anti-Semitism here. In his letter of acceptance, Mr. White urged the council "not to limit itself to anti-Semitism, but to fight bigotries against all racial minorities."

Air Corps Bars Negroes On Excuse Race Desires It

When the N.A.A.C.P. sent a protest to Secretary of War Harry H. Wood-

ring against the refusal of the army air corps to accept enlistments from young colored men, Secretary Woodring replied, "Following a well-established principle against mixing the races in organizations, a principle which is indorsed by your own people" no Negroes would be accepted for the air corps.

The N.A.A.C.P. replied that it, as an organization, did not indorse any principle of not mixing the races in organizations; that it was opposed to Jim Crow in the army and navy, and that it felt that colored men and boys should be accepted for enlistment in any branch of the army in which they choose to serve. The association also expressed its belief that the majority of colored people in this country was against segregation in the army.

Appeals for Funds to Press Education Fight

An appeal to the country to give financial support so as to press forward the drive against inequalities in public education was made December 13 by Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary.

Mr. White hailed the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Gaines case which directed the University of Missouri to admit Gaines to its law school.

"This decision," he said, "is sweeping in its language and opens up vast possibilities for the improvement of Negro education all down the line to the smallest rural school.

"The N.A.A.C.P. does not intend to confine itself to college cases, but we expect to use this victory to help us secure better elementary schools, more and better high schools, better salaries for teachers, and improved bus transportation for little colored children in rural areas.

"This fight for better education is not as spectacular or emotional as an anti-lynching fight, but as the years go by, it may prove to be more important even than anti-lynching work.

"We have conducted the campaign thus far, as usual, on a shoestring. The N.A.A.C.P. operates on the slenderest of budgets and has to spread this over scores of different activities.

"If we are to receive the full benefit of the broad decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, there must be funds to press other test cases, to make surveys, to draft legislation and mobilize public opinion in support of it. The amount of good the race receives from this University of Missouri case will depend largely on the amount of financial support it is willing to give to the organization, which for thirty years has fought continuously for full citizenship rights, and which in that length of time has won eleven victories before the Supreme Court affecting the fundamental rights of Negro Americans."

Contributions should be sent to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth avenue, New York, N. Y. Checks may be made payable to Mary White Ovington, Treasurer.

Virginia State Conference of the N.A.A.C.P.

The Virginia State Conference of the N.A.A.C.P. met on Thanksgiving Day in the science building of Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va. Representatives were present from ten branches. The welcome was extended by Professor H. E. Faultleroy, president of the Petersburg branch.

The president of the Virginia State Conference, Dr. J. M. Tinsley, spoke of the calls for help which had been received from all parts of the state, and that it had been possible to give assistance to only a very few of them because of the limited funds. He urged that all branches would push the fight to see that all Negroes become qualified voters, and that facilities for school children and salaries of school teachers be equalized.

Attorney J. Thomas Hewin commented on cases in which the state conference had participated. John Henry Warren, who was the victim of mistaken identity, had been sentenced to 40 years in the penitentiary. With the cooperation of the N.A.A.C.P. he was later freed. Raymond Jackson, the "peeping Tom" of West Point, had been accused of attempted rape. Through the intervention of attorneys for the association he received only a light sentence. In Louisa county, the Rural Electrification Administration had invaded the property of colored owners for the extension of their program without proper compensation. This was

The Virginia State Conference meets in Petersburg. Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president, is seated in the first row, second from left

satisfactorily adjusted. Assistance was given in the case of Ruby Burns of Lithia, Va., who had been in virtual peonage for over 20 years in the home of white people. Mention was made of filing of the Teacher's Salary Case at Norfolk, and that others were in course of preparation in Louisa county, Pulaski, Loudoun county and Henry county.

Women's Committee Formed for Louisville Branch

A woman's committee of the Louisville, Ky., branch of the N.A.A.C.P. was organized on December 8, 1938, at the Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the Y.W.C.A. Twenty younger matrons and misses eagerly accepted the suggestion of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., that they thus augment the work of the local branch. The women's committee has as its purpose the fostering of the active social expression of the branch and the implementing of the total program through the raising of funds. The members began at once to make plans that include a program of social activities, education stimulated and guided by the interests of the national organization, and issues vital to the local community.

As a highlight at the closing meeting of the membership drive the newly organized women's committee was presented. The officers are: Mrs. Murray Atkins Walls, president; Mrs. Juanita Bobson Lane, vice-president; Mrs. Hazel Browne Williams, secretary; Mrs. Arabella Gross Robinson, treasurer. Other members of the committee are the following: Misses Helen Anthony, Louise Matthews, Yolanda Barnett, Lorraine Robbins; Mesdames Ione Garrett Stanley, Hortense Houston Younge, Ruth Edwards, Minnie Mae Street, Jennie Liggins, Mary Leake, Constance G. Thomas, Orelia Ledbetter, and Naomi Lattimore.

Branch News

The **Shreveport, La.**, branch has been active in preventing illegal extradition of a local Negro to Ruston from Chicago. The local branch compelled local authorities to comply with every phase of the law before the extradition was effected.

The **Pasadena, Calif.**, branch held its annual meeting at St. Barnabas Parish house, November 17. The meeting was well attended. Miss Hafford, working in the interest of legislation requiring pre-marital examination as a preventive of the spread of social diseases, gave a brief talk on the work of her society. Dr. J. M. Brown of the First A.M.E. church presided during the presentation of the report of the nominating committee of which Dr. Edna Griffin was secretary. The following persons will serve as officers of the branch: Father

BARBARA KNIGHT

Winner of the baby contest held by the Bayonne, N. J., branch on November 4, 1938. She is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Knight

Alfred Wilkins of St. Barnabas Episcopal church, president; Clifton Walker, vice-president; Miss Gladys Harris, secretary; Mrs. Wilton Groomes, corresponding secretary; John Wright, treasurer.

The executive board members are: Rev. J. W. Coleman, Rev. L. M. Malone, Rev. H. W. Moore, Mrs. Galena Mackey, Mrs. Ada Brownlee, T. C. Walker, Earnest Griffin, Messrs. Leroy Mimms and Barney Durham, Mrs. Mae Reese Johnson, George Tait, W. B. Tipton and F. A. Moss.

The **Cheyenne, Wyo.**, branch held its regular monthly meeting at the A.M.E. church on November 13.

Miss Pauline Smeed was named chairman of the Christmas seal sale for the **Akron, O.**, branch.

At its November meeting the **Hartford, Conn.**, branch presented the Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist church, New York City, who spoke on "The Second Emancipation." The meeting was held at the Hopewell Baptist church.

Mr. George Brown, prominent citizen of Kimball, W. Va., was appointed chairman of the membership campaign committee for **McDowell county, W. Va.**, branch. Mr. Brown has long been an enthusiastic worker in the Association and has served as its treasurer since its inception. He has elaborate plans for an effective campaign.

The **Chester, Pa.**, branch gave a Thanksgiving and Fellowship dinner in the recreation room of St. Daniel's M. E. church on November 18. Several hundred persons attended the dinner.

The **Lansing, Mich.**, branch sponsored a contest between the quartets of the city at the Friendship Baptist church on Thursday, November 17. Mrs. Frances Logan presided.

The **Des Moines, Ia.**, branch held its annual meeting on November 11 at the St. Paul A.M.E. church. Officers were elected and a report given by Mrs. Georgine Morris on the national convention.

The **Houston, Tex.**, branch held its annual banquet at the Antioch Baptist church, November 22. The speaker for the banquet was the Rev. J. S. Scott, pastor of the Trinity East Methodist Episcopal church. Musical selections were furnished by the Coleridge-Taylor Choral club.

The **New Orleans, La.**, branch, at its November meeting, elected the following officers for the coming year: Dr. A. W. Brazier, president; Thelma S. Shelby, vice-president; Rev. Morris Burrell, corresponding secretary; Camille Harrison, assistant secretary; and P. P. Cruezot, treasurer.

The annual dinner of the **Rochester, N. Y.**, branch was held November 21 at the First Baptist church. The Rev. William R. McKim, civic chaplain of hospitals, presided. William Warfield, who won national recognition in a musical contest in St. Louis last year, rendered several selections. Mrs. S. R. Ball reported on the national conference in Columbus. E. Frederic Morrow, co-ordinator of branches, was the principal speaker.

The unemployment situation among Negroes was discussed at the **Newburgh, N. Y.**, branch meeting November 21. Rev. Samuel Hodge, president, presided. Methods of solving the problem were discussed, the speakers including Mr. Hodge, Rev. E. O. Clarke, of the A.M.E. Zion church, and the Rev. R. M. Mitchell of Ebenezer church.

The rights of Negroes as equal citizens are insured in a recently enacted civil rights bill in Michigan and Ypsilanti may well provide a locale for an initial test case of this law. Clarence Smith, prominent Negro attorney and president of the **Toledo, Ohio**, branch, told a large group in a meeting at the Second Baptist church on November 13.

William I. Hill was reelected president of the **Weirton, W. Va.**, branch at the annual meeting held on November 13. Following the annual report of the president, secretary and treasurer, the following officers were elected: William I. Hill, president; Edward Williams, vice-president; E. J. Fairfax, secretary, and John F. Williams, treasurer. Mrs. Price is directing the annual membership campaign. At the present writing the membership of the organization is 170 after only one year of existence.

The **Morristown, N. J.**, branch held its regular monthly meeting on November 21 at the Phyllis Wheatley Club rooms.

The **Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.**, branch is active in pressing local authorities for a genuine slum clearance project.

The **Richmond, Va.**, branch held its annual meeting December 8 at the Ebenezer Baptist church. President J. M. Tinsley delivered his annual address. Three prizes were awarded to the persons who brought in the largest number of members during the recent membership campaign. Horace H. Scott served as master of ceremonies.

At the regular monthly meeting of the **South Boston, Va.**, branch, November 15 held in the Rex Building, the following officers were elected for the coming year: president, Dr. D. V. Estill; vice-president, Rev. J. W. Smith; secretary, J. S. Carrington; treasurer, Dr. Leon W. Smith.

Dewey W. Fox, president of the **Monongalia county, Morgantown, W. Va.**, branch, in a letter to the city council asked the councilmen to urge local restaurants to accommodate "decent colored people." Mr. Fox stated that there are no Morgantown restaurants or confectioneries which

receive Negro trade. Mayor William T. Hughes, Jr., ordered the letter turned over to the chamber of commerce for its consideration.

Thomas Matthews, president of the **Newport, R. I.,** branch, presided over a public meeting, November 21 at which Dean William Pickens, field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., was the principal speaker. The meeting was held at the Odd Fellows hall. The arrangements committee consisted of Mrs. Inez Tinsley, Mrs. Jennie Bailey and Mrs. Aria Garson.

The following officers were installed at the November 22 meeting of the **Houston, Tex.,** branch at the association's annual banquet in the Antioch Baptist church: C. F. Richardson, president; Lulu White, A. W. Jackson, Sidney Hasgett, R. L. Andrews and Rev. T. J. Goodall, vice-presidents; C. V. Adair, secretary; Emma Thorpe, assistant secretary; and Dr. W. M. Drake, treasurer. Committee heads appointed by Richardson are: George S. Goodson, finance; Julius White, finance assistant; Nadine Roberts, program; P. O. Smith, entertainment; Henry Grayson, publicity; Rev. J. S. Stott, education; E. L. Snyder, legal redress; O. K. Manning, legislation; C. W. Rice, labor; Rev. L. S. White, ministerial; Rev. J. D. Moore, interracial; R. L. Easter, youth council; Dr. P. W. Beal, assistant youth council, and James H. Jemison, junior work.

The **New Bedford, Mass.,** branch presented Dean William Pickens in a public meeting held November 20 in the Bethel A.M.E. church. Dean Pickens declared that individual education will increase respect for Negroes and is one of the best means of advancing the prestige of the race. Cornelius B. Piper, chairman of the Christmas seal sale committee, opened the local sale by disposing of the first block of seals to Mayor Carney. A city-wide organization has been formed by the local branch to canvass the whole population.

The **Cleveland, O.,** branch held a memorial service for the late James Weldon Johnson on Sunday afternoon, December 4, at the Antioch Baptist church. The Honorable Harry E. Davis, former chairman of the civil service commission, and member of the board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P., was the principal speaker. A selection from Mr. Johnson's book of sermons in verse, "God's Trombones" was recited by Miss Mildred Coleman, Gilpin Players' actress. The Philharmonic Glee club sang "Since You Went Away" and "Abide With Me."

The **Youngstown, O.,** branch elected its executive board members at its regular monthly meeting held at the Federal Street "Y" on Monday, November 21.

The following were elected officers of the **Columbus, Ohio,** branch at its November meeting held at the Blue Triangle branch Y.W.C.A.: Barbee W. Durham, president; Jesse G. Dickinson, vice-president; Miss Juanita Davis, secretary; Mrs. Constance Nichols, treasurer, Miss Isobel Chrisholm, Robert S. Johnson, B. E. Slaughter, Dr. R. M. Tribbitt, Rev. C. F. Jenkins, Mrs. Thelma Jackson, Earl Williamson, Miss Gladyce Taylor and William F. Savoy, board members.

Fred Yell was elected president of the **Grand Rapids, Mich.,** branch at the November meeting. The other officers named were: Rev. T. W. Tolliver, vice-president; Mrs. Katherine Larry, secretary; Mrs. Dorothy Wood, corresponding secretary; and Kelly Marsh, treasurer.

The **Asheville, N. C.,** branch held its annual membership drive from November 21 to December 12. On December 12 the branch presented Dean William Pickens, field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., at a public meeting held in the Y.M.C.A.

The **Mercer county, Pa.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. held an election of officers at the Morris chapel, A.M.E. church, Friday, November 18. Rev. L. R. Bennett was unanimously elected president, succeeding J. E. Matthews who was not a candidate for reelection. The other officers and chairmen elected were as follows: Thomas H. Dillard, vice-president; Mrs. Sara Dillard, reelected secretary; Mrs. Mary Wayne, assistant secretary; and Collin Haynes, treasurer. Those elected chairmen of the various committees were: education, Mrs. M. E. Patterson; legal redress and legislation, Rev. O. H. Singletary; membership, Rev. C. R. Boyd; entertainment, Mrs. Charles Butler; press and publicity, Miss Julia Kyle; finance, Collins Haynes; and industry and labor, J. E. Matthews.

"Legislation affecting the Negro race" was discussed by Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., at the South Side Center, Saturday, November 19. Mr. White mentioned some of the obstacles to be expected in bringing the anti-lynching bill before the next Congress. This meeting opened the membership drive of the **Ithaca, N. Y.,** branch which was extended through December 13. The Rev. Joseph C. Moselle was chairman of the meeting and James L. Gibb, director of the South Side Center introduced the speaker.

Miss Marion Cuthbert, member of the national Y.W.C.A. staff and director of the N.A.A.C.P., spoke at the monthly meeting of the **Charleston, W. Va.,** branch on December 11 at the First Baptist church. Dr. Maude Wanzer trained a chorus of 100 voices to sing Anton Dvorak's "Going Home" and James Weldon Johnson's "Since You Went Away." Mrs. T. G. Nutter was in charge of the program.

The **Bridgeton, N. J.,** branch heard Dean William Pickens, field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., at its regular monthly meeting, November 30 at the Mt. Zion A.M.E. church. Rev. D. L. Ridout was chairman of the committee in charge of arrangements.

A large audience turned out Monday, November 21, to hear Field Secretary Pickens who was presented by the **Roxbury, Mass., branch.** Thomas Matthews, president of the local branch, presided. The musical program consisted of a vocal solo by George Parker, accompanied by Miss Adelaide Brown, and the singing of the Negro national anthem. The invocation was given by the Rev. J. Quinton Jackson, pastor of Mt. Olivet Baptist church.

N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

Happy New Year!

A new year dawns—a new page opens, clean, fresh and white, on which new deeds of merit are to be recorded. As we look back on page 1938, we find nothing of which to be ashamed or make us quickly turn the page. True, there is a blot here and there made by a scratchy pen, and maybe a smudge or two from a finger weary with toil. However, we read upon each line, ambition—for a bigger and better year; determination—to complete unfinished tasks and tackle new ones; faith—that with the cooperation of young and old, black and white, we can reach our goal.

Many new names appeared last year—names with which we have already associated splendid achievement: San Antonio, Tex., Plainfield, N. J., Buffalo, N. Y., Baton Rouge and Monroe, La., Chrleston, W. Va., Sacramento, Stockton, and San Francisco, California, Highland Park, Mich., Elizabeth, N. J., Cincinnati, Ohio, Okmulgee, Okla., Portland, Ore., Berwyn, Pa., Swarthmore-Morton, Pa., Newark, N. J.

An array of names appears in pencil in the margin of our page, waiting to be entered: Montgomery, Ala., Phoenix, Ariz., San Diego, Calif., New Britain, Conn., Decatur, Mt. Vernon, Rockford and Springfield, Ill., Des Moines, Iowa, Lake Charles, La., Cranford and East Orange, N. J., Binghamton, N. Y., Asheville, N. C., Providence, R. I., East Beckley, W. Va., and Milwaukee, Wisc.

As the cloud of persecution and disregard for minority rights hangs heavy over our new day, the youth councils and college chapters of the N.A.A.C.P. voice with one accord their intention for this year—and all others—until "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is truly achieved:

Should we sit idly by and sigh,
While lynching rules the land,
And thousands suffer agony
From Jim Crow's cruel hand?
Should we allow rank prejudice
To thwart our destiny?
NO! With the N.A.A.C.P.
We'll fight for liberty!

Cincinnati Beats Discrimination

The Cincinnati youth council is the latest youth group to receive a charter. Since their organization this summer, they have carried on a fine program, the most outstanding feature of which was their successful protest against discrimination in the recreational project at Sand school. The facilities of the project were enjoyed all summer out of doors by white and colored alike. However, since coming indoors, steps have been taken to bar colored persons from using the gym, with the exception of one Saturday night a month. Persons seeking admission were told they must secure a

recreational membership card from the Recreation Commission at City Hall. When a delegation from the youth council went to apply for cards, they were referred back to the project leaders at the school. This shunting back and forth was done several times until the council decided to take the matter up with the Board of Education. It was found that the Building Code for Public Schools prohibits discrimination in the use of school buildings. Mr. Gould, a member of the Education Board instructed the committee to go again to the Commissioner's office for membership cards and if refused to report back to the Board and the project would be closed in accordance with the Building Code.

Six members of the youth council, together with Mrs. Estella Davis, senior adviser, met in conference with Mr. Deering, head of the Recreation Commission at City Hall, at which time the facts of the case were presented to him. Mr. Deering seemed in accord with the arguments set forth, but would not commit himself in writing. However, he promised to phone Miss Mary Oliver, a Committee member, and let the council know through her his decision. Four days later Miss Oliver informed the council that they could take any steps liked as Mr. Deering would not act in the case.

The corresponding secretary was ordered to write Mr. Deering a letter, in order that his reply might serve as a written statement for their records. In his reply, Mr. Deering changed his former stand and stated that the project would be open to colored and white on equal terms. Since that time, council members and others have been able to enjoy dancing at the gym every Saturday night, without interference from supervisors.

Baton Rouge Business Drive

On Sunday, October 30, the Baton Rouge, Louisiana youth council sponsored a mass meeting to make citizens of Louisiana conscious of the many Negro businesses at hand and to urge them to trade with them. A four-point program was outlined by which the following results could be obtained: larger businesses and more colored employees, economic solidarity, greater racial recognition, and better living conditions among Negroes. Hundreds of letters were sent out to consumers in Baton Rouge, asking their cooperation.

Michigan Conference Convenes

The Michigan State Youth Conference of the N.A.A.C.P. closed a successful two-day conference recently. Economic, social and civic problems facing youth today consumed every minute of the discussion periods. The opening address was given by Gloster Current, president of the conference, who briefly outlined the purpose of the youth councils in first trying to determine the problem and then seek some practical solution. Stress was laid upon the fact that most effective work was accomplished through interracial cooperation.

The guest speaker, Edward Swan, explained the purpose of the NYA, giving particular emphasis to the new college aid for Negroes.

ADEL NELSON, JR.
President, Monroe, La., youth council

JESSIE DUNCAN
President, Louisville, Ky., youth council

Morristown Gives Tea

A musical tea was given by the Morristown, N. J., council at the home of Mr. and Mrs. L. L. Taylor. The affair was well attended by members of both senior and youth groups. Members of youth councils from Morris County, Montclair, East Orange and Newark participated in the fine program.

Montclair Has Busy Season

The Montclair, N. J., youth council was represented by five delegates at the Armistice Day service sponsored by the Young Peoples' Societies of Montclair.

Elsie Ransom and George Robinson represented the council on November 12 at a meeting of the Christian Youth About Housing (interracial) at St. Luke's Church.

The regular meeting of the council was held Sunday, November 20 at the Washington Branch of the Y.M.C.A., at which time Harold A. Lett of the New Jersey Urban League addressed the council on Labor and Industry and Negro Youth.

A special feature of the program was the presentation of four recordings of poems by the late James Weldon Johnson.

The council is investigating a report that a colored girl student at Montclair high school has been prevented from joining the girls' swimming team at the school because of color. The report is that the student was told to withhold her interest in swimming until a colored group was formed that would be able to swim at the colored "Y". The present club uses the swimming pool at the Park Street Y.M.C.A. Youth council members are wondering whether it is the school or the "Y" which is setting up the barrier.

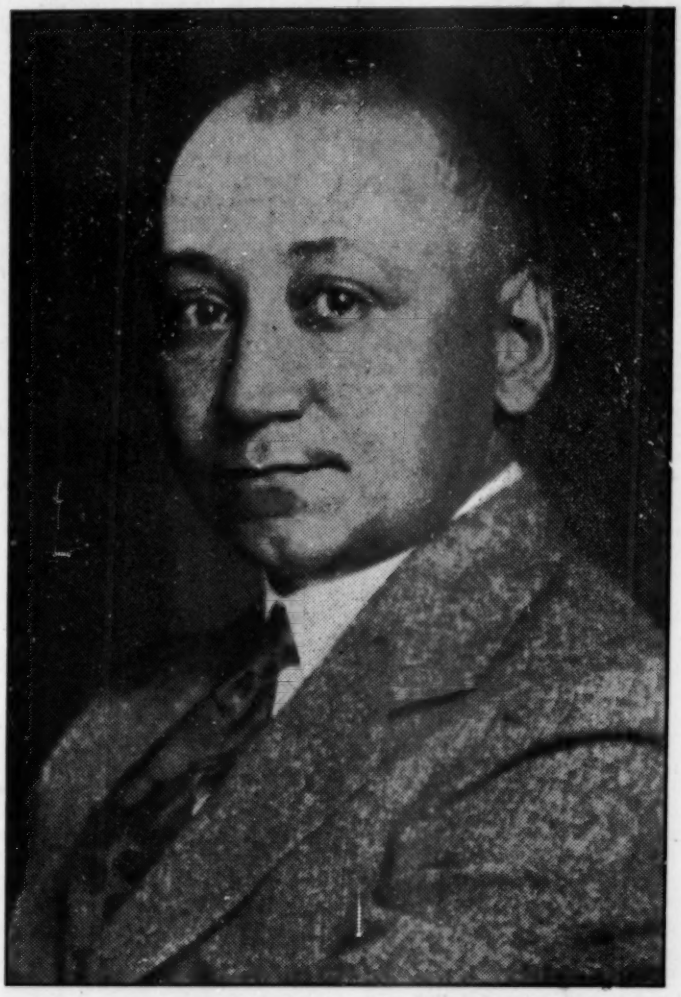
Apportionments

Youth councils and college chapters are expected to contribute at least $25.00 each year to the national office through memberships, Christmas seals, conference assessments, collections, or button sales. All groups doing so within the January-December period of any year are placed on the honor roll. Next month the names of the councils and college chapters whose 1938 apportionments have been completed will appear in this section. Only contributions up to and including December 31 will be included. All others will go on the 1939 apportionment.

NEW PUBLICATION

THE CRISIS has received a copy of *"New Times and Ethiopian News"* published in London. The sub-title of the paper is "The Voice of Victim Nations and Defenseless Minorities." E. Sylvia Pankhurst is the editor.

Contributes to Leading Medical Book



DR. LOUIS T. WRIGHT

Dr. Wright, surgical director of Harlem hospital, New York City, is one of the contributors to the Eleventh Edition of the book entitled "The Treatment of Fractures," by Dr. Charles L. Scudder of Boston, which is just off the press. It contains 1,208 pages, with 1,717 illustrations, and is published by the W. B. Saunders Co., the leading medical book publishers of Philadelphia.

This is and has been the standard authority on the treatment of fractures in all English speaking countries for the past 38 years. It has been used during this period in most medical schools as a standard textbook on the treatment of fractures.

Dr. Wright contributed the chapter on "Head Injuries," which has to do with fractured skulls and brain injuries, and which covers pages 416 to 459 inclusive. It has been generally known that Dr. Wright is one of the leading authorities in this field of surgery and has done much to teach other surgeons throughout the country how to treat such injuries. This chapter represents the work that he has done on traumatic injuries of the brain, over a period of many years at Harlem hospital. That Harlem hospital treats a large number of fractured skulls is known throughout the country, and it is on the study of this material that Dr. Wright's chapter is based.

Among the contributors of special chapters, are members of the teaching staffs of Harvard Medical School, Jefferson Medical College, Johns Hopkins University, University of Pennsylvania and Columbia University Medical School; and members of the surgical staffs of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston City Hospital and the Children's Hospital of Boston; all of whom wrote on subjects concerning which they are deemed authorities.

In the preface of this edition, Dr. Scudder states: "In the presentation of special fracture problems, I have been fortunate in securing the assistance of men actively engaged, day after day, in doing those things about which they here write. I take this opportunity to thank these men and to state that I personally approve of the opinions expressed in their contributed chapters." This means that the work in the field of traumatic brain surgery, as done at Harlem hospital, is considered authoritative.

Dr. Wright is a Fellow in the American College of Surgeons, is a police surgeon with the rank of inspector in New York City, and is chairman of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

I Want You With Me Always

By GWENDOLYN BROOKS

I want you with me always.
When stars put out their gems
To spangle up the soft
Dark garment of the night,
I want you with me.

When light breaks quietly
Across the eastern ceil,
Deepening into rose
And blue and varying gold,
I want you with me.

Beauty, dear, is barren,
Rapture intangible,
Warmth frost-coated.
Because I haven't you.

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Responding to frequent inquiries, THE CRISIS carries herewith the names and addresses with telephone numbers of some of the 1300 colored attorneys in the United States, purely as a service to those seeking such information. THE CRISIS does not maintain a legal bureau, as many readers seem to think, and the N.A.A.C.P. concerns itself only with cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights. Lawyers whose names do not appear below are requested to write to THE CRISIS.

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We Must Stand Together

Editorial from *Jewish Frontier*

IT was quite natural that the persecution of the Jews in Germany should evoke the protest and condemnation of the Negro press in the U. S. Being an oppressed minority themselves, the Negroes can understand the plight of Jewry more keenly than many others and their sympathy has the sincerity of people who share a similar fate. It was also to be expected that in condemning Germany for its barbarity they should at the same time give voice to their many and just grievances against the treatment accorded to them at the hands of the white population in this country.

This is no time to compare grievances and to weigh the relative immensity of the wrongs suffered by Jews and Negroes. There is no yardstick with which to measure wrongs, and suffering inflicted unjustly stands condemned regardless of its enormity. But many a Jew in Germany might be inclined to look with envy upon the status of the Negro in the U. S. today. With a full realization of the injustice, exploitation and discrimination to which the Negroes are subjected, the basic and significant fact remains that they have a home. Not even the most rabid Jim Crowism denies their right to live in this country or talks of expelling them as a people. This is of great importance, for when a people has a home, it has the basis for its future happiness. It can continue to struggle for its rights, it can expect the advanced sections of the neighboring population to come to its assistance. True, the Negroes are exploited; they are relegated to a few underpaid branches of the national economy. But these occupations also provide them with a weapon of struggle for the improvement of their lot. And while discrimination is widespread even in the North, there still are many opportunities open to them in education, in industry and above all in the freedom to organize their forces for the protection of their interests.

The lot of the Negro is not enviable and white America has much to correct and much to atone for. *It is up to minority groups, such as the Jews and the Negroes in this country, to intensify the struggle against discrimination and racial bigotry.** The plague of "racism," the dishonest and perverted belief in higher and lower races, which is sweeping such a large part of Europe will no doubt attempt to entrench itself also in the U. S. We must be prepared to resist it with all the forces at our command.

And the first step in this direction is for the minority groups themselves to purge their ranks of all racial prejudice and intolerance which may have crept in or which are being planted among them by clever propagandists who seeks to stir up one group against another. It is altogether too easy to transform a just feeling of resentment against oppression into a dangerous hatred of another race or nation. *We, the ones who suffer from such racial intolerance, must be the first to stamp it out in our own midst.* Then shall we be able to conduct the struggle for our rights with an undimmed belief in the justice of our cause.

In the days ahead of us there will be an increased need for cooperation between Jews and Negroes. The political successes of Nazism in Europe have tremendously increased its arrogance and ambitions and it will no doubt seek to organize forces of racial intolerance in this country. In anticipation of the fight against the common enemy, we must stand together, Jew and Negro, all those who will bear the burden of the attack. Working together and aided by the forces of sanity and progress in the country we may yet succeed in eradicating the cancer of racial intolerance.

* Italics ours.

Ticket Home

(*Continued from page* 8)

"Why New York?

"My aunt lives there. She wrote me to come if I could get my fare. She didn't have money to send for that, but she said she could take care of me until I could find something to do, or until things worked out for me. She feels that father will be glad even to pay her to keep me, although he was too mean to give me money to go to her.

"But why did you come through Kansas City? It's way out of your path."

"You won't laugh at me, if I tell you?"

"Of course not."

"Well, when I went to buy my ticket, I had a hunch that if I came through Kansas City, I might see my mother, although none of us has had a word from her since she left us."

"What makes you think she is in Kansas City?"

"I don't know why I think she's here, but I think so, just the same. I thought maybe I'd find her, somehow, and we'd live together. That's one thing I've missed—a mother."

"You'd never find her here. If she's alive, and has stayed away this long without saying anything to you, she wouldn't want you to find her. I'd like to believe she's dead."

"Why?"

"She couldn't possibly stay away from

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—Income of $15,061,347.72
—Insurance in force: $288,963,070.00
—Policies in force: 1,643,125
—Ordinary Insurance: $80,106,234
—Industrial Insurance: $181,961,766.63.
—Health and Accident Insurance: $26,895,069.37
—Employment: 8,150 Negroes
—Policies issued and Revived in 1936: $174,112,773.00
—Increased business, 1936: $65,645,466
—Increase in policies, 1936: 251,047

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a child as sweet as you for fourteen years, otherwise."

"Why how do you know its been that long?"

"You said you were two when she left you. You look to be about sixteen. I can do a little arithmetic, myself."

"Excuse me."

"You know what I think?"

"No. What do you think?"

"You'd better grab an armful of the next train going to New York, and go to that aunt of yours. I reckon she's a mighty fine woman."

"Uncle always said so. He—said she was made of sterner stuff than my mother."

"I'm sure he was right."

"But how can I go on, with no money?"

"How much is the fare?"

"Thirty-one dollars and ninety-eight cents from here."

Margaret's rocker came to a quick stop. "How long before your train leaves?"

The girl rolled back the cuff of her fur-lined kid gloves and looked at the infinitesimal gold watch on her wrist.

"Just fifteen minutes," she answered.

"Wait here." Margaret rose. I have a friend who will lend me the money."

"But how can I pay it back?"

"I'll give you my address. When you get to New York, and get to work, you can send it to me."

"But—"

Margaret was already out of the door. It was only a few minutes, but it seemed hours to the girl, before the door opened again, to re-admit this woman who was taking such an interest in her. She bore in her hand two envelopes.

"Here," she said, thrusting the narrow one into the girl's hand, is your ticket to New York. And for God's sake don't lose it. It'll get you there in time for Christmas, I hope."

"But what—"

"No time for question and answer period now. This one," thrusting the square envelope into the pocket of the girl's coat, "has some extra change my friend loaned me, so's you could have something for eats and taxi fare. Pick up your bag, honey, and move!"

One hand grasping her own suitcase, the other firmly holding the girl's free hand, Margaret raced through the door to the gate through which the crowd bound for the New York train was passing.

"Goodbye, and always be a good, sweet girl, and always do what your aunt says. She is a real woman."

For a moment the two looked into each other's face. A bewildered expression, a puzzled questioning look, which reminded Margaret of the sun trying to break through a fog, clouded the girl's face.

"Merry Christmas," breathed Margaret, turning quickly to join the people crowding toward the exit.

Just outside, she reached into her inner coat pocket, drew out the bag in which her ticket money and the five dollars extra had been pinned. Opening her fingers, she let the bag, now limp and empty, float away with the gust of wind which swirled stinging snow-flakes in her face.

She smiled. It was just as well. There was no point in going back to Laota just to put a cheap wreath on Uncle Louis' grave, and just to see roses bloom at Christmas time.

Letters

Likes Editorial

To the Editor of The Crisis:—Accept my enthusiastic praise for your editorial "Negroes, Nazis and Jews." I should say, "the praise of all decent people," because the editorial restates the feeling of all decent America.

Furthermore, the last paragraph of the editorial, which deals with "the best way to combat Hitlerism," should be included in the program of every progressive organization in the country.

Allow me to state what the teachers of Public School 3, Brooklyn, have done in regard to the lynching in Wiggins, Miss. I might preface the statement by saying that about 85% of the school population is colored.

The majority of the faculty, composed of Negro and white teachers, included among whom were Catholic, Protestant and Jewish teachers, dispatched a night letter to President Roosevelt commending him for his protests of the persecutions abroad and demanding that he prevent Hitlerism in the form of lynching in these United States. Action was demanded on the McGowan murder.

M. Salz

Brooklyn, N. Y.

To the Editor of The Crisis:—I was so moved by the unerring aim of your editorial, "Negroes, Nazis and Jews," that I have supplied the editors of each of our daily papers with that page of this month's Crisis, in hopes that they will comment upon it editorially. I will send you clippings of any such comment that appears in these papers.

Barbee William Durham

Columbus, Ohio

On Sportsmanship

To the Editor of The Crisis:—I want to express my appreciation for the spirit of the editorial in this months' Crisis concerning the progress of good sportsmanship at Carolina and Duke in the matter of competing with teams which have Negro players. I hope that this trend will not be reversed and that when Northern teams with Negro players come South for their intersectional battles, as will no doubt happen in the next year or so, we can have this same feeling of good sportsmanship.

Guy B. Johnson

University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

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Book Review

AGAINST THE TIDE, an autobiography, by A. Clayton Powell, Sr., New York. Richard R. Smith, 1938. 327 pages. $2.00.

The Reverend Dr. Powell in this autobiography has written the typical American success story. The poor boy struggling at the beginning against the odds of poverty, ignorance and environment through pluck, energy and determination overcomes these obstacles and ends by being one of the leading orators and churchmen of his race and the revered Pastor Emeritus of the largest and most prosperous Protestant church of the race. His account of how he found an almost moribund congregation in New Haven and left it a prosperous and powerful force in the community and how he overcame all obstacles in building the great Abyssinian Baptist church in Harlem are not only valuable contributions to the history of the Negro church in America but are potent proofs of Dr. Powell's dynamic personality. How he accomplished these results is the main theme of his story but there are chapters devoted to his travels and observations abroad. His life has been a singularly happy one; there are few men who can look back at a life with less regrets and more satisfaction.

A.B.S.

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